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Mr. J. Monist Hassell

AN
HISTORY
OF
ENGLAND;
IN A
SERIES of LETTERS,
FROM A
NOBLEMAN to his SON.

To which is prefixed,
An INTRODUCTION, containing a
DIALOGUE on the CONSTITUTION,
between MARCUS AURELIUS PHILOSOPHUS,
and SERVIUS TULLIUS. By the Author of the
DIALOGUES of the DEAD.

With the Addition of
Mr. ANDERSON's Progress of ARTS and SCI-
ENCES, &c. in a CHRONOLOGICAL SERIES.

VOL. II.

*Nec minimum meruere decus, vestigia Græca
Ausî deferere, & celebrare domestica facta.* HOR:

The FOURTH EDITION, with Additions and Corrections.

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HISTORY

OF
ENGLAND

SERIES OF LETTERS

FROM
ROBERT MANNING





THE
HISTORY
OF
ENGLAND;
IN A
SERIES OF LETTERS.

LETTER I.

IT will undoubtedly astonish posterity, when they find a whole nation making these sudden changes from absolute liberty to the most submissive obedience; at one time almost unanimously declaring against monarchy, and soon after, with the most unbounded flattery, soliciting the shackles of arbitrary power. The parliament, which had before so vehemently opposed the late Monarch, possessed of every virtue, were

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now profuse in their submissions to his successor, whose character stood in no manner of competition with that of his father.

They first ordained to have the bodies of Cromwell, Ireton, and Bradshaw, dug from their graves, and dragged to the place of execution; here they continued hanging the whole day, and then were interred under the gallows. Of those who sat in judgment on the late Monarch's trial, some were dead, and some were thought worthy to find pardon; ten only out of fourscore were devoted to immediate destruction. These were enthusiasts, who had all along acted from principle, and bore their fate with all the confidence of martyrs. They had been formerly cruel themselves, and they were now in turn treated with shocking inhumanity; the executioners, not content with performing the office of death, added insult to their tortures; the sufferers, to a man, thanked God for being permitted to die for his cause, and braved the fury of their oppressors with manly contempt.

Their deaths seemed to inspire a few desperate enthusiasts with the most strange confidence that ever deluded a poor ignorant party. One Venner, who expected the immediate coming of Christ upon earth, appeared in the streets of London in arms, at the head of threescore enthusiasts like himself, and declared against any other Monarch but King Jesus. They had been wrought into such a pitch of phrenzy as to believe themselves invulnerable, and fought as men confident of victory. The few survivors of their defeat were taken, tried, condemned, and executed: they affirmed to the last, that, if they had been deceived, the Lord himself concurred in the imposture.

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It was now feared that the tide of loyalty would bear down all the former mounds of freedom; the parliament seemed to concur in all the designs of the court, and even to anticipate its wishes: but, though the King was established, his old faithful friends, and the followers of his family, were left unrewarded. There were numbers who had fought for his father, and for him, and had lost their all in his service, still pining in want and misery; while their persecutors, who, profiting by the troubles of their country, had acquired fortunes during the civil war, were still permitted to enjoy them without molestation. The sufferers petitioned in vain; Charles was no way remarkable for gratitude; his pleasures, his flatterers, and concubines engrossed all his attention, and exhausted his finances; the unhappy Cavaliers murmured without redress; he fled from their gloomy expostulations to scenes of mirth, riot, and festivity.

The kingdom now seemed to be converted into a theatre of debauchery, which had before been a scene of blood. The Independents were no longer to be seen; the Puritans were restrained; the horrors of the late war were the subject of ridicule; the formality and the ignorance of sectaries were displayed upon the stage, and even laughed at in the pulpit. The King had no religion; and, though he permitted the persecution of sectaries, it was merely from political motives. The late miseries of the nation were not sufficient to deter a few desperate fanatics from attempting to excite them afresh; they laid a scheme for surprising several towns in the North, and raising a general insurrection; the ministry discovered the plot, before it was ripe for execution; thirty of the conspirators were taken and executed; and this plot

was a pretext for continuing the parliament then sitting, and repealing the act for triennial parliaments, as being dangerous in times of commotion.

The English parliament seemed willing to make the King reparation for their former disobedience, and the Scotch were still more sanguine in the expressions of their attachment. Had Charles been an active Monarch, he might have now become an absolute one. They confirmed the doctrine of passive obedience by a solemn act; they assigned him a revenue of twelve hundred thousand pounds, exclusive of the expence necessary for fitting and supplying the fleet. None of his predecessors were ever possessed of such a large revenue; nevertheless, his prodigality rendered him indigent, and, instead of desiring an ascendancy over his parliament, he was content to be an humble and continual dependant on their bounty.

His prodigality, his libertinism, and the familiarity with which he permitted himself to be treated by his subjects, soon began to alter their sentiments from a veneration for royalty to a contempt of his person and administration. He declared war against Holland, merely to have an opportunity of spending upon his pleasures a part of those sums granted him by parliament for the support of a fleet and army. This war was carried on with doubtful success; but the alarm which the nation received from Ruyter the Dutch admiral's attempting to sail up the river Thames, still more disgusted them against their governor. Immediate dangers, tho' small, influence the mind with greater force than distant, though terrible calamities. They now called to mind the administration of Cromwell, when the people enjoyed security at home,

home, and were respected abroad; they recollected that vigorous Usurper's labours for the good of the nation, and compared them with those of the present effeminate unsuccessful reign.

Natural and accidental calamities seemed to unite themselves to those brought on by bad management. A plague ravaged the city, which swept away more than one hundred thousand of its inhabitants; and soon after the city was almost entirely destroyed by a conflagration. The spirit of the people soon surmounted these calamities; London soon rose more beautiful from its ashes; the streets were built anew more spacious and convenient than before; and their distress soon became their advantage.

But neither war, nor accident, nor the murmurs of the people could abate the passion for gallantry, pleasure, and expence, that reigned in the court through the King's example. He had imbibed all that spirit of levity, during his residence in France, for which that kingdom is remarkable. Though he had been married soon after his restoration to the Infanta of Portugal, he kept several mistresses, by whom he had natural issue. Among this number were Mademoiselle Querouaille, a French woman, whom he created Dutches of Portsmouth; Mrs. Palmer, whom he made a Countess; and Nel Gwyn and Mrs. Davis, actresses taken from the theatre.

But, though the court was thus lost to decency, the passion for uniformity in religion in the nation seemed to revive. The parliament was equally set against the Presbyterians and the Papists; an act was made called the *Test act*, importing that every person in office and employment should take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, receive the
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sacrament in some parish church before competent witnesses, and subscribe a declaration, renouncing the doctrine of transubstantiation. This was levelled against the Duke of York, the King's brother, who had professed himself a Papist, and whom the parliament secretly aimed at excluding from the throne. The fears and discontents of the nation were vented without restraint; the apprehensions of a Popish successor, an abandoned court, a parliament that had continued, without a new election, for seventeen years; an alliance cemented with France, the secret enemy of England and the Protestant religion; and an unsuccessful and expensive war with Holland, their natural allies; all gave cause to kindle a spirit of indignation among the people. The court tried every method, but in vain, to satisfy these murmurs, or appease them. Even the coffee-houses were suppressed where such topics were generally debated.

This universal ferment, as may easily be imagined, broke out into an alarm. When the spirit of the English is once excited, they either find objects of resentment, or they make them. A rumour of a Popish conspiracy was first propagated, and one Titus Oates soon appeared to give it confirmation. Titus Oates had been from his youth an indigent and infamous adventurer. He was abandoned, illiterate and shameless. He had been once indicted for perjury, afterwards chaplain of a man of war, and dismissed for unnatural practices. He then professed himself a Roman Catholic, went to the Jesuits College at St. Omer, but was dismissed, after some residence there, with infamy. He then returned to London, filled with projects of revenge; and the

the animosities of this unhappy nation soon appeared a proper place of nourishment to give this viper's virulence effect. He deposed upon oath, that the Jesuits, several of whom, he named, and who were soon after taken up, had tried the King under the name of the *Black Rastard*, condemned him as an heretic, and resolved to deprive him of life: that several attempts had been made without success, and that not only the King's brother, but even the Queen, were privy to the design. The house of commons immediately took fire at this pretended conspiracy; they petitioned for removing the Queen, but Charles, notwithstanding all allurements of pleasure, of interest, or safety, had the generosity to protect his injured consort. "They think," said he, "I have a mind to have a new wife; but for all that I will not see an innocent woman abused." The commons rewarded Oates with a pension of twelve hundred pounds, and immediately ordered the conspirators to be tried in the courts of justice. Several Jesuits were tried; their very profession was at that time sufficient to destroy them: before a partial Judge and an exasperated Jury, no mercy could be expected, and several, though apparently innocent, were executed as traitors upon this miscreant's information. Coleman, the Duke of York's secretary, Ireland, Pickering, Grove, Fenwick, and Whitebread were among the first that fell; they died, declaring their innocence to the last moment of their lives.

While the Protestants were labouring to humble both the Puritans and the Papists, those two parties were at the same time mutually employed in ruining each other. Plot was set against plot; that

that contrived by Oates was called the *Jesuits*; that set to oppose it was called by the name of the *Meal-tub Plot*, as the scheme of the conspiracy was found hidden in a meal-tub. This was a design against Oates, for his perjuries had drawn upon him the furious resentment of the Catholic party; they were determined to take away his life by the same false evidence by which he had taken away the lives of so many others.

Of all these plots tending to disturb the peace of the kingdom, it is said the Earl of Shaftesbury was at the bottom; he had been a member of the Long Parliament in the civil wars, and had gained great influence among the Presbyterians; he had insinuated himself into the confidence of Cromwell, and afterwards employed his credit in forwarding the restoration. He had been made one of the privy-council in the present reign, but was ejected thence for the duplicity of his conduct. He was possessed of uncommon abilities, joined with turbulence, dissimulation, and unbounded ambition. It was thought that this nobleman, in revenge for his disgrace at court, headed the demagogue faction, and alarmed the King with unceasing dangers.

He artfully increased the people's apprehensions of a Popish successor, and, by his interest, brought a bill into the house of commons for the exclusion of James Duke of York from the succession. In the national animosity raised against Papists it was no difficult matter to have it passed through the house of commons; but, being presented to the house of peers, it was thrown out by a great majority.

The commons were greatly incensed at this repulse, but particularly their anger fell upon the
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the Earl of Halifax, who exerted himself in the opposition. Halifax disregarded their anger, secure in conscious innocence. But their rage fell with more weight upon Lord Strafford, who had long been a prisoner in the Tower, upon the deposition of Oates. Notwithstanding his age, his weak intellects, and the justness of his defence, he was arraigned, condemned, and executed for a plot which had its only foundation in perjury and subordination. All things threatened a renewal of the former troubles from which the kingdom had been but lately set free. The commons presented petition after petition to the King, desiring the punishment of Papists, and the abridgment of the royal prerogative. They seemed willing to intimidate the King, or to inflame the nation. At length Charles shewed a degree of fortitude that surprised even his friends; he rejected their petitions with contempt, and dissolved the parliament that had abused their power.

The state of the nation at that time, with regard to religion, was thus. The principal men at court, if they professed any, were of the established church; so were all the men of great property, as well as the dregs of the people; but that body of men who voted at elections, placed between a state of opulence and penury, were in general Presbyterians. They were therefore willing to return representatives only of that persuasion.

Charles, however, was resolved to try one parliament more, and appointed them to meet him at Oxford, the city of London having long been displeasing, by reason of their republican principles. The new parliament, however, seemed

still more turbulent than the former; the members came armed, and attended by their friends and adherents, as if they expected to fight, and not deliberate. The representatives of London were in particular attended by a numerous body of horsemen, wearing cockades, inscribed, *No Popery, no Slavery*. To declaim against Popery was the voice of faction in the last reign, and such it was in the present. The same spirit that had animated the former parliament, seemed redoubled in this. They insisted on the bill for excluding the Duke of York from the succession; they persisted in declaring that all Papists should be banished, and their children educated in the Protestant religion; that the doctrine of passive obedience was injurious to the rights of society. In a word, the leaders of the opposition were resolved to be displeased with every measure the King could propose, and prepared to recal the former aristocracy into the kingdom. Charles, seeing that nothing could be expected from counsels managed by party, and not deliberation, once more dissolved this parliament, with a steadfast resolution of never calling another.

This was a stroke they had never expected, and which the times alone could justify. From the moment the royal and parliamentary commotions were ended, Charles seemed to rule with despotic power, and was resolved to leave to his successor the faults and the misfortunes of his administration. His temper which had been always easy and merciful, became arbitrary, and even cruel; he entertained spies and informers round the throne, and imprisoned all such as he thought most daring in their designs. He resolved to humble the Presby-

Presbyterians; all such were divested of their employments, and their places filled with such as approved the doctrine of non-resistance. The clergy testified their zeal to the court by their writings and sermons; the partizans of the King were most numerous; but those of the opposite faction were more enterprising; the mutual animosity of each was inflamed into rage and rancour, and the King openly declared himself at the head of a faction. The city of London particularly fell under his resentment; he deprived them of their charter, and only restored it when he had subjected the election of their magistrates to his immediate authority.

Such an arbitrary administration could not fail of exciting new insurrections; several noblemen, among whom were the Duke of Monmouth, the King's natural son, the Lords Shaftesbury, Russel, Grey, and others, entered into a combination to destroy the King, which was called after the *Rye-house plot*. The conspirators met at the house of one Shepherd, a wine-merchant, where they proposed a rising in London, Bristol, Devonshire, and Cheshire. They agreed upon a declaration for justifying their design, but the scheme was at first delayed from the difficulty of the preparations previous to taking the field, and soon after discovered by one Keiling, who expected to earn a pardon for himself by impeaching his associates. As the plot began to open, new informers came in; Monmouth absconded, Grey escaped the messenger who had been sent to arrest him, Russel was committed to the Tower, and Shaftesbury, who foresaw the danger, had taken refuge in Holland, Lord Essex, Sidney, the great philosopher and law-

law-giver, and Hampden, grandson of the famous man of that name, were informed against, and committed to confinement.

The principal informer upon this occasion was Lord Howard, a man every way debauched, and who was willing to accept infamy for safety; by his evidence Russel and Sidney were condemned, after a short trial, on which the laws were wrested to serve the particular purposes of their adversaries.

Applications were made to the King for a pardon, but he was inexorable. It was in vain that Russel's consort, a woman of great merit, daughter and heiress of the Earl of Southampton, threw herself at the King's feet, and pleaded with many tears the merits and loyalty of her father, as an atonement for those errors, into which honest, however mistaken principles had seduced her husband. These supplications were the last instance of female weakness (if they deserve the name) which she betrayed. Finding all applications fruitless, she collected courage, and not only fortified herself against the fatal blow, but endeavoured by her example to strengthen the resolution of her unfortunate lord. With a tender and decent composure they took leave of each other on the day of his execution. As the day advanced on which he was to suffer, he testified the utmost fortitude and presence of mind. The Duke of Monmouth by message offered to surrender himself, if Russel thought that that measure could any way contribute to his safety. "It will be no advantage to me," he said, "to have my friends die with me." The day before his execution he was seized with a bleeding at his nose. "I shall not now let blood to divert this distemper,"
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“ per,” said he, to doctor Burnet, who attended him; “ that will be done to-morrow.” A little before the sheriffs conducted him to the scaffold, he wound up his watch; “ Now I have done,” said he, “ with time, and henceforth must think “ solely of eternity.”

The scaffold was erected in Lincoln's-Inn fields, a place very distant from the Tower; and it was probably intended by conducting Russel through so many streets, to shew the mutinous city their beloved leader, once the object of their confidence, now exposed to the utmost rigour of the law. As he was the most popular among his own party, so was he ever the least obnoxious to the opposite faction; and his melancholy fate united every heart, sensible of humanity, into a tender compassion for him. Without the least change of countenance, he laid his head on the block; and at two strokes it was severed from his body.

The execution of Sidney soon followed. This gallant person, son to the Earl of Leicester, had entered deeply into the war against the late King; and though no way tainted with enthusiasm, had so far shared in all the councils of the independent republican party, as to have been named on the high court of justice, which tried and condemned that monarch: he thought not proper, however, to take his seat among the judges. Cromwell's usurpation he ever opposed with zeal and courage; and after employing all his efforts against the restoration, he resolved to take no benefit of the general indemnity, but chose voluntary banishment, rather than submit to a government and family which he abhorred. As long as the republican party had any existence, he was active in every scheme, however unpromising, which tend-
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ed to promote their cause: but at last, in 1677, finding it necessary for his private affairs to return into England, he had applied for the King's pardon, and had obtained it. When the factions arising from the Popish plot, began to run high, Sidney, full of those ideas of liberty, which he had imbibed from the great examples of antiquity, joined the popular party; and was even willing to seek a second time, through all the horrors of civil war, for his adored republic.

From this imperfect sketch of the character and conduct of this illustrious personage, it was easily to be conceived how obnoxious he became to the court and ministry. What alone renders them inexcusable, was the illegal method which they took, of effecting their purpose against him. The only witness that deposed against him was lord Howard; but as the law required two witnesses, a strange expedient was fallen on to supply this deficiency. In ransacking the prisoners closet, some discourses on government were found; where he had maintained principles, favourable indeed to liberty, but such as the best and most dutiful subjects in all ages have been known to embrace; the original contract, the source of power from a consent of the people, the lawfulness of resisting tyrants, the preference of liberty to the government of a single person. These papers were asserted to be equivalent to a second witness, and even to many witnesses. The prisoner replied, that there was no other reason for ascribing these papers to him, besides, a similitude of hands; a proof, which was never admitted in criminal prosecutions: that allowing him to be the author, he had composed them solely for his private amusement, and had never published them to the world, or even communicated

municated them to any single person : and that where the law positively requires two witnesses, one witness, attended with the most convincing circumstances, could never suffice; much less, when supported by a circumstance so weak and precarious. All these arguments, though urged by the prisoner with great courage and pregnancy of reason, had no influence. The violent and inhuman Jefferies was now chief justice; and by his direction a partial jury was easily prevailed on to give a verdict against Sidney. His execution followed a few days afterwards.

The execution of this great man is regarded as one of the greatest blemishes of the present reign. The evidence against him, it must be confessed, was not legal; and the jury, who condemned him, were, for that reason, very blameable. The jury itself was not composed of freeholders, as the law required; and this irregularity is a great reproach on the administration.

Howard was also the sole evidence against Hambden; and his testimony was not supported by any material circumstance. The crown-lawyers therefore found it in vain to try the prisoner for treason: they laid the indictment only for a misdemeanor, and obtained sentence against him. The fine imposed was exorbitant; no less than forty thousand pounds.

While these affairs were transacting, Monmouth was in the mean time soliciting his pardon; for he had withdrawn some time before, and the court could get no intelligence of him. The King having a great regard and affection for him, at length granted him a full pardon.

The severities exercised in the latter part of this reign arose merely from the influence of the Duke

Duke of York, who was as much inclined to cruelty by nature, as his brother Charles was prone to forgiveness. His authority was become terrible even to the ministry; by his advice the King seized upon all the charters of the corporations, in order to extort money for having them renewed. Partiality and oppression were the instruments of his power; and bigotry and innovation the objects of his aim. At this period the reign of Charles was as absolute as that of any monarch in Christendom, and new discontents and treasons were secretly diffusing their poison, the spirit of liberty still struggling hard against the spirit of obedience, which the clergy attempted to inculcate. Another civil war threatened the nation still more dreadful than the former, as the forces were more equally divided. But Charles happily died before those calamities could return; he was suddenly seized with an apoplectic fit, in the fifty-fifth year of his age, and the twenty-fifth year of his reign. The people, though they despised his administration, loved his person; they were willing to bear with the faults of one whose whole behaviour was a continued instance of good nature and affability; but they were by no means willing to grant the same indulgence to his successor, whom they hated for his pride, his religion, his cruelty, and connections. He was unfit to walk in the irregular steps of his predecessor; and when he pursued the same route, fatal experience soon convinced him that he had at once mistaken himself and the people he attempted to command.

But, though England, during the reign of Charles, seemed still in some measure, agitated like the ocean after a storm, yet commerce
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continued to increase with its usual celerity and success. The manufacture of certain stuffs, glass, copper, steel, paper, hats, and stockings, were now brought to perfection. Upon the banishing the Protestants from France, numbers came and settled here, and brought their arts with them. This application to arts and commerce gave England great weight in the balance of Europe; Britain became the center of politics and arms. Though literature was but little encouraged by the Sovereign, yet the learned made great proficiency in every department of science; and the philosophers of England began to take the lead. Newton, Tillotson, Burnet, Hobbes, and Shaftesbury enlarged the landmarks of human knowledge; Butler, Dryden, Otway, gave strength and propriety to the language. In a word the character of the nation now began to alter; the natural rudeness of the inhabitants began to take a polish from good breeding, and British ferocity to meliorate into charity and humanity.

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LETTER II.

AS we descend, we find the materials for English history increase; the minutest transactions are recorded with prolixity; and these, however dry and unimproving to some, are yet both interesting and satisfactory to others. In such a profusion of materials I must be content rather to give the spirit of the following reigns, than pretend to exhibit an historical detail of particular interests and intrigues. It will be enough to mark out

out those strong out-lines that may probably escape the wreck of time, when the internal colouring shall fade. As history increases in time by the addition of new events, an epitome becomes more necessary to abridge its excrescences.

The Duke of York, who succeeded his brother, with the title of King James the second, had been bred a Papist, and was strongly bigotted to his principles. It is the property of that religion, almost ever, to contract the sphere of the understanding; and, until people are, in some measure, disengaged from its prejudices, it is impossible to lay a just claim to extensive views, or consistency of design. The intellects of this Prince were naturally weak, and his bigotted principles still rendered them more feeble; he conceived the ridiculous project of reigning in the same arbitrary manner of his predecessor, and changing the established religion of his country, at a time when his person was hated, and the established religion was universally approved.

The people of England were now entirely changed from what they had been in the times of Henry, Mary, and Elizabeth, who had altered religion at will. Learning was now as much cultivated by the laity as by the priesthood; every man now pretended to think for himself, and had rational grounds for his opinion. In the beginning of the reformation, the Monarchs had only to bring over the clergy, in order totally to change the modes of belief, for the people were entirely guided by their pastors. To influence the priesthood was an easy task. The hopes of preferment, or the fears of degradation, entirely subjected the consciences of the clergy to the royal will. Such it was then; but the circumstances of the nation were,

were, at present, entirely altered; and, to make a change in religion, it would have been necessary to tamper with every individual in the state. But James had no idea of the alteration of circumstances; his situation, he thought, supplied him with authority, and his zeal furnished him with hope of accomplishing his chimerical design.

The success he met with in crushing a rebellion, in the opening of his reign, seemed to promise a favourable omen towards the completion of his wishes. The Duke of Monmouth, who had long been at the head of a faction, and inflamed all the discontents that molested the late King's reign, was now resolved to aim at the crown. He was the darling of the people; and some averred that the King had married his mother, and owned his legitimacy at his death. The Earl of Argyle seconded his views, and they formed a scheme of a double insurrection. Argyle first landed in Scotland, published his manifestoes, put himself at the head of two thousand five hundred men, and attempted to influence the nation; but, a formidable body of the King's forces coming against him, his army fell away, and he himself, after being wounded in attempting to escape, was taken by a peasant standing up to his neck in water. Being brought to Edinburgh, he prepared for death, well knowing that it was not in the King's nature to forgive an enemy.

The Duke of Monmouth was not more fortunate; he sailed from the Texel with three vessels, and arrived on the coasts of Dorsetshire with about fourscore followers. The country soon flocked in to his standard, and in two days his army was increased to two thousand men. The Earl of Feversham was sent to oppose him, and took post at
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Sedgemore, a village in Somersetshire. Monmouth resolved to fight him, and began his march about eleven at night, with profound silence; but the Royalists were prepared for his reception. The action began at day-break; Lord Grey, who commanded the Duke of Monmouth's horse, was routed at the first onset. The Duke at the head of his infantry bravely maintained his ground until he was charged in flank by the enemy's horse, who had been just now victorious. A total rout ensued; three hundred were killed in the engagement, and a thousand in the pursuit. The Duke escaped the carnage, and in a shepherd's disguise, fled on foot, attended by a faithful companion, who had followed his fortunes into England. Thus they travelled onward towards Dorsetshire, till, quite exhausted with hunger and fatigue, they lay down in a field, and covered themselves with stubble. In this forlorn situation he was found, with some peas in his pocket, which he had gathered in the fields to sustain life. His spirits sunk with his misfortunes; he wrote to the King; implored his mercy; the King gave him an audience, as if willing to satisfy his vengeance with the sight of a rival's misery. But his death was determined, and no entreaties could extort royal clemency. On the scaffold he resumed his former courage, handled the axe, declared that he meant well to the nation, and his head was cut off, but not till after the third blow.

But it were happy for the nation, and fortunate for the King, if the blood that was already shed had been thought a sufficient expiation for the late offence. The victorious army under colonel Kirke, behaved with the most savage cruelty to the prisoners taken after the battle. One story is memorable

morale for the treachery, as well as barbarity that attended it. A young maid pleaded for the life of her brother, and flung herself at Kirke's feet, armed with all the charms, which beauty and innocence, bathed in tears, could bestow upon her. The tyrant was inflamed with desire, not softened into love or clemency. He promised to grant her request, provided that she, in her turn, would be equally compliant to him. The maid yielded to the conditions: but after she had passed the night with him, the wanton savage, next morning, shewed her from the window her brother, the darling object for whom she had sacrificed her virtue hanging on a gibbet, which he had secretly ordered to be there erected for his execution. Rage, despair, and indignation took possession of her mind, and deprived her for ever of her senses. The whole country, innocent as well as guilty, were exposed to the ravages of this barbarian. The soldiery were let loose to live on free quarter; and his own regiment, instructed by his example, and encouraged by his exhortations, distinguished themselves in a more particular manner by their outrages. Their inhumanity was properly seconded by Jefferies, who was sent on the western circuit to try the insurgents. His furious thirst of blood being inflamed by continual intoxication, he threatened, calumniated, and threw aside even the appearance of clemency. Men and women indiscriminately felt the effects of his savage zeal; and not less than two hundred and fifty persons expired under circumstances of wanton cruelty. Cruel Kings ever find cruel ministers.

It was not to be expected, that these butcheries could acquire the King the love or the confidence

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of his people, or tend to alter their opinions, as they rather excited the secret abhorrence of every honest man. Yet he thought this a time favourable for the carrying on his scheme of religion and arbitrary government. An attempt at arbitrary power in Charles was, in some measure, excusable, as he had a republican faction to oppose; and it might have been prudent, at that time, to overstep justice, in order to attain security; but the same designs in James were as unnecessary as impracticable, since there were few republicans remaining, and the people were satisfied with limited monarchy. But this weak and deluded Monarch was resolved to imitate one or two Princes of Europe, who had just before rendered themselves absolute; and he was incited to this project by Lewis XIV. who secretly desired his destruction. Thus instigated he began his designs with the measures which he should not have used till their completion. He sent a splendid embassy to Rome, to acknowledge his obedience to the Pope. Innocent, who then filled the chair, was too good a politician to approve of those childish measures, and gave his ambassador a very cool reception. He was sensible that the King was openly striking at those laws and opinions which it was his business to undermine in silence and security. The Cardinals were even heard facetiously to declare, *that the King should be excommunicated for thus endeavouring to overturn the small remains of Popery that yet subsisted in England.*

James, notwithstanding his discouragements, was yet resolved to prosecute his favourite scheme with vigour. Upon every occasion the Catholics shared his confidence and favour. Hugh Peters, his confessor, ruled his conscience, and drove him
blindly

blindly forward to attempt innovations. He became every day more and more ambitious of making converts; the Earl of Sunderland sacrificed his religion to his ambition; the Earl of Rochester lost his employment of treasurer for refusing to alter his religion. The King stooped so low as to his officers; a rough soldier one day answered his remonstrances, by saying that he was pre-engaged, for he had promised the King of Morocco, when he was quartered at Tangiers, that, should he ever change his religion, he would turn Mahometan.

An Ecclesiastical court was erected, with power to punish all delinquents, or such so reputed by the court, with all manner of ecclesiastical censures. Before this court was summoned the Vice-chancellor of Cambridge, for having refused to admit one Francis, a Benedictine Monk, to the degree of master of arts; the Vice-chancellor was deprived of his office, but the university persisted in their refusal, and the King thought proper to desist from his purpose. The Vice-president and fellows of Magdalen-college in Oxford were treated with more severity. They refused to admit one Farmer, a new convert, and of a profligate life, who was nominated by the King to the place of president, now become vacant. The King next nominated Parker, Bishop of Oxford; but he was equally obnoxious for the same reasons. The King repaired in person to Oxford; he reproached the fellows with insolence and disobedience; but neither he, nor his ministers, could prevail to alter the resolutions of this society. The fellows were expelled by his order, and their places filled with Papists, who he knew would be more obedient to his commands.

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His designs hitherto were sufficiently manifest ; but he was now resolved entirely to throw off the mask. By his permission the Pope's nuncio made his public entry into Windsor in his pontificals, preceded by the cross, and attended by a great number of monks in the habit of their respective orders. He next published a declaration for liberty of conscience, by which all restraints upon Popery were taken away. The church of England took the alarm ; the peculiar animosity of the people against the Roman Catholic Religion proceeded not less from religious than temporal motives. It is the spirit of that religion to favour arbitrary power, and its reproach to encourage persecution. The English had too often smarted under both to be willing again to submit to either. Seven Bishops, who had received the King's express orders to cause this declaration of liberty of conscience to be read in their churches, refused to comply. They drew up a modest petition to excuse their refusal, which only served to increase the King's resentment and rage. They were cited before the council, and still adhered to their former resolution with that firmness which is the characteristic of virtue. The attorney-general was ordered to prosecute them for publishing sedition, and abridging the King's prerogative. They were committed prisoners to the Tower, conducted thither amidst the prayers and condolance of an incredible multitude of the populace, who regarded them as sufferers for truth. The day appointed for their trial arrived ; this cause was looked upon as the crisis of English freedom ; the council managed the debate on both sides with learning and candour ; the jury withdrew into a chamber, where they passed the whole night, but next morning

morning returned into court, and declared the Bishops not guilty. The joy of the people, on this occasion, was inexpressible; the whole city, and the country around, seemed at once to catch the shouts of exultation; they even reached the camp, where the King was then sitting at dinner, who heard them with indignation and amazement.

If the Bishops testified the readiness of martyrs, in support of their religion, James shewed no less obstinacy in his attempts towards the establishment of his own. Finding the clergy averse to his designs, he next tried what he could do with the army. He thought, if one regiment would promise implicit obedience, their example would soon induce others to the same compliance. He ordered one of the regiments to be drawn up in his presence, and desired that such as were against his late declaration of liberty should lay down their arms. He was surprised to see the whole battalion ground their arms, except two officers and a few Roman Catholic soldiers.

Opposition only served to increase the infatuated Monarch's zeal; he was continually stimulated by his Queen and his priests to proceed rashly onward. But he was particularly urged on by the Jesuit Peters, his confessor, an ambitious and intriguing priest, whom some historians have even accused of being the creature of the Prince of Orange, the King's son-in-law, who had long since conceived hopes of seizing the crown. James, therefore issued orders for prosecuting all those clergymen who had refused to read his declaration. He placed one Gifford, a Doctor of the Sorbonne, at the head of Magdalen-college, and likewise nominated him to the see of Oxford, lately become vacant. Every member of the

Church of England now saw their danger; and Whig and Tories united their efforts to oppose it.

William, Prince of Orange, had married Mary the daughter of King James. This Prince had been early immersed in danger, calamities, and politics; the designs of France, and the turbulence of Holland, had served to sharpen his talents, and given him a propensity for intrigue. This great politician and soldier concealed beneath a phlegmatic appearance, a most violent and boundless ambition, all his actions were levelled at power, while his discourse never betrayed the wishes of his heart. His temper was cold and severe; his genius active and piercing; he was valiant without ostentation, and politic without address; disdaining the pleasures, or the elegancies of life, yet eager after the phantom of pre-eminence. He was no stranger to the murmurs of the English, and was resolved to turn them to his interest. He, therefore, accepted the invitations of the nobility and others, and still more willingly embarked in the cause, as he found the malecontents had concerted their measures with prudence and secrecy.

A fleet was equipped sufficient to transport fifteen thousand troops; and it was at first given out that this armament was designed against France. James, at length, began to see his own errors and the discontents of the people; he would now have retracted his measures in favour of Popery, but it was too late; the fleet of the Prince was already sailed, and had landed thirteen thousand troops at the village of Broxholme in Torbay.

The expectations of the Prince of Orange seemed, at first, to be frustrated; very few Englishmen offered

offered him their services, tho' the people were, in general, well affected to his design. Slight repulses were not sufficient to intimidate a general, who had, from his early youth, encountered adversity; he continued ten days in expectation of being joined by those who wished the freedom of their country, without success; so long was the great duty of obedience, the love of liberty and religion in suspense, but happily for these kingdoms the latter preponderated, just when he began to deliberate about reimbarking his forces, he was joined by several persons of consequence, who led numbers to his standard. From this day they continued increasing; the nobility, which had composed the court and council of King James, now left their old Master to solicit protection from the new.

Lewis XIV. had long foreseen this defection, and had formerly offered the King thirty thousand men for his security. This was then refused by James, by the advice of Sunderland, his favourite, who was secretly in the interests of the Prince of Orange. James, however, now requested assistance from France, when it was too late for his service: he wrote in vain to Leopold, Emperor of Germany, who only returned for answer, that what he had foreseen had happened. He had some dependence on his fleet, but they were entirely disaffected. In a word, his interests were deserted by all; for he had long deserted them himself. He was at the head of an army of twenty thousand men, and it is possible that, had he led them to the combat without granting them time for deliberation, they might have fought in his favour; but he was involved in a maze of fears and suspicions; the desertion of those he most confided in took away his power of deliberation, and his perplexity was increased, when

told that the Prince of Denmark and Anne, his favourite daughter, had gone over to the Prince of Orange. In this exigence he could not repress his tears, but in the agony of his heart was heard to exclaim, *God help me, my own children have forsaken me.*

He now hung over the precipice of destruction; invaded by one son-in-law, abandoned by another, hated by his subjects, and detested by those who had suffered beneath his cruelty. He assembled the few noblemen who still adhered to his interests, and demanded their advice and assistance. Addressing himself to the Earl of Bedford, father to Lord Russell, who was beheaded by James's intrigues in the preceding reign, *My Lord,* said he, *you are an honest man, have great credit, and can do me signal service.* *Ah, Sir,* replied the Earl, *I am old and feeble, I can do you but little service; but I once had a son that could have assisted you, but he is no more.* James was so struck with this reply, that he could not speak for some minutes.

The King was naturally timid; and some counsellors about him, either sharing his fears, or bribed by the Prince, contributed to increase his apprehensions. They reminded him of the fate of Charles I. and aggravated the turbulence of the people. He was, at length, persuaded to think of flying from a nation he could no longer govern, and of taking refuge at the court of France, where he hoped to find assistance and protection. Thus instructed, he first sent away his Queen, who arrived safely at Calais; and soon after, disguising himself in a plain dress, he went down to Feverham, and embarked on board a small vessel for France. His misfortune still continued to follow him; the vessel was detained by
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the common people, who not knowing their Sovereign, robbed, insulted, and abused him. He was now persuaded by the Earl of Winchelsea to return to London, where he was once more received amidst the acclamations of the people.

The return of James was by no means agreeable to William, though he well knew how to dissimble. It was his interest and his design to increase the forsaken Monarch's apprehensions, so as to induce him to fly. He therefore received the news of his return with a haughty air, and ordered him to leave Whitehall, and retire to Richmond. The King remonstrated against Richmond, and desired that Rochester might be appointed as the place of his abode. The Prince perceived his intention was to leave the kingdom; nor did one wish for flight more ardently than did the other desire him away. The King soon concurred with his designs: after staying but a short time at Rochester, he fled to the sea-side, attended by his natural son the Duke of Berwick, where he embarked for France, and arrived in safety, to enjoy, for the rest of life, the empty title of a King, and the appellation of a Saint, a title which still flattered him more. Here he continued to reside among a people who pitied, ridiculed, and despised him. He inrolled himself in the order of Jesuits; and the court of Rome, for whom he had lost all, repaid him only with indulgences and pasquinades.

From this moment the constitution of England, that had fluctuated for so many ages, was fixed. The nation, represented by its parliament, determined the long contested limits between the King and the people; they prescribed to the Prince of Orange the terms by which he was to rule; they
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chose him for King, jointly with Mary, who was the next Protestant heir to the crown. They were crowned with the titles of William III. and Mary, King and Queen of England. The Prince saw his desires, at length, gratified; and his wisdom was repaid with that crown which the folly of his predecessor had given way.

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L E T T E R III.

THOUGH William was chosen King of England, his power was limited on every side; and the opposition he met with from his parliaments still lessened the regal authority. His sway in Holland, where he was but the Stadtholder, was far more arbitrary: so that he might, with greater propriety, have been called the King of the United Provinces, and the Stadtholder of England. He was not sufficiently acquainted with the difficulty of governing the nation by which he was elected; he expected in them a people ready to second the views of his ambition in humbling France; but he found them more apt to fear for the invasion of their domestic liberties from himself.

His reign commenced, however, with the same attempt which had been the principal cause of all the disturbances in the preceding reign, and had excluded the Monarch from the throne. William was a Calvinist, and naturally averse to persecution. He therefore began by attempting to repeal those laws that enjoined uniformity of worship; and, though he could not entirely succeed in his design,

design, yet a toleration was granted to such dissenters as should take the oaths of allegiance, and hold no private conventicles. The Papists also enjoyed the lenity of his government; and, though the laws against them continued to subsist, yet they were seldom put into strict execution. What was criminal in James, was virtuous in his successor: James only wanted to introduce persecution, by pretending to disown it; William was averse to persecution from principle; and none suffered for religious opinions during his reign.

But, though William was acknowledged in England, Scotland was still undetermined. The parliament of that country, however, soon acknowledged his authority, and took that opportunity to abolish episcopacy, which had long been disagreeable to the nation. Nothing now remained to the deposed Monarch, of all his former dominions, but Ireland. His cause was espoused by all the Papists of that country, who were much more numerous than those of the Protestant persuasion. The King of France, either touched with compassion for his sufferings, or willing to weaken a rival kingdom by internal dissensions, granted James a fleet and some troops, to assert his claims there. On the seventh day of May, this unhappy Monarch embarked at Brest, and on the twenty-second arrived at Kinsale. He was received by the Roman Catholics with open arms. The Protestants, who were unanimously attached to King William, had been previously disarmed by Tyrconnel, their Lord Lieutenant, and a furious Papist. James made his public entry into Dublin, amidst the acclamations of the inhabitants. He was met at the castle-gate by a procession of Popish bishops and priests in their pontificals, bearing

ing the host, which he publicly adored; and this served to alienate the few Protestants of that kingdom, who still adhered to his cause. A small party of that persuasion, in the little city of London-derry, gave a most memorable instance, to what extent the love of liberty and religion are able to support a people steadfast in both. They were besieged by the forces of King James, and suffered all the complicated miseries of war, famine, and cruel persecution; but, determined never to yield, they rejected conditions, and always repulsed the besiegers with considerable loss. At length, supplies and succours arriving from England, King James's army thought proper to raise the siege.

The cruelties exercised upon the Protestants, were as shocking as unnecessary; soldiers were permitted to pillage them without redress; and they were compelled to accept base money in exchange for those commodities they were forced to sell. But their sufferings were soon to have a period. The Duke of Schomberg was sent over with assistance; and William himself soon after followed, and landed at Carrickfergus. He was met by numbers of the Protestants, who had fled from persecution; and now, at the head of six-and-thirty thousand men, he was resolved to go in quest of the enemy. Having marched to Dundalk, and then to Ardee, he at length came in sight of the Irish army. The river Boyne lay between the two armies, the front of the Irish being secured by a morass and a rising ground. These obstacles were insufficient to prevent the ardour of William, who, when his friend the Duke of Schomberg expostulated upon the danger, boldly replied, That a tardy victory would be worse than a defeat. The Duke, finding his advice not approved of, retired to his

his tent in a melancholy mood, as if he had a prescience of his own misfortune. Early in the morning, at six o'clock, King William gave orders to pass the river; the army passed in three different places, and the battle began with unusual vigour. The Irish troops, which have been reckoned the best in Europe abroad, have in general been less favourable at home; they fled, after a long resistance, with precipitation, and left the French and Swiss regiments, who came to their assistance, to make the best retreat they could. William led on his horse in person, and contributed, by his activity and vigilance, to secure the victory. James was not in the battle, but stood at a distance, during the action, on the hill of Dunmore, surrounded with some squadrons of horse; and, at intervals, was heard to exclaim, when he saw his own troops repulsing the enemy, *O spare my English subjects.* The Irish lost about fifteen hundred men, and the English about one third of that number; but the death of the Duke of Schomberg, who was shot as he was crossing the water, seemed to outweigh all the numbers of the enemy. He had been long a soldier of fortune, and fought under almost every power in Europe. His skill in war was unparalleled, and his fidelity equal to his courage. The number of battles in which he had been personally engaged, was said to equal the number of his years; and he died aged eighty-two. James fled, regardless of the safety of his soldiers. William rode round the scene of slaughter, relieved the wounded, as well of the enemy's troops as his own. O'Regan, an old Irish captain, was heard to say upon this occasion, That, if the English would exchange generals, the conquered army would fight the battle over again.

This blow totally depressed the hopes of James; he fled to Dublin, advised the magistrates to get the best terms they could from the victor, then set out for Waterford, where he embarked for France, in a vessel prepared for his reception. Had he possessed either conduct or courage, he might still have headed his troops, and fought with advantage; but prudence forsook him with good fortune, and left him a memorable example of arbitrary government, evidently shewing that power and authority are delegated by the people, and may be with-held.

His friends were still resolved to second his interests, though he had abandoned them himself. In the beginning of the year the French King had sent a large supply of provisions, clothes, and ammunition, for the use of the Irish at Limerick, under the conduct of Mons. St. Ruth, accompanied with a great number of French officers, furnished with commissions from King James. Tyrconnel arrived also with three frigates and nine vessels, freighted with succours of the same nature; and these being joined by numbers of those who held to the interest of the abdicated King, several skirmishes were fought between them and William's troops, under general Ginckle, which always turned out in favour of the latter, raising their spirits, and depressing those of the enemy.

In the month of June, Ginckle marched from Mullingar to Ballymore, which was garrisoned by a thousand men under col. Bourk; who, when summoned to surrender, returned an evasive answer. But when a breach was made in the place, and the besiegers began to make preparations for a general assault, his men laid down their arms, and submitted at discretion. The fortifications of this place being repaired and augmented, the
general

general left a garrison for its defence, and advanced to Athlone, situated on the other side of the Shannon, and supported by the Irish army, encamped almost under its walls. The English town, is situated near the river, was taken sword in hand; and the enemy broke down an arch of the bridge in their retreat. Batteries were raised against the Irish town, and several unsuccessful attempts were made to force the passage of the bridge, which was defended with great obstinacy. The superior bravery of the English at length prevailed. They passed twenty a-breast, in the face of the enemy, through an incessant shower of balls, bullets, and grenades. The Irish were amazed, confounded, and abandoned the town in the utmost consternation; so that, in half an hour, it was wholly secured by the English, who did not lose above fifty men in the attack. General Ginckle exhibited proofs of the most undaunted courage and skilful conduct on this occasion, and was soon afterwards made Earl of Athlone.

St. Ruth, after a march of ten miles, took post at Aughrim, and having, by draughts from garrisons, augmented his army to five and twenty thousand men, resolved to hazard a decisive engagement.

Ginckle having put Athlone in a posture of defence, passed the Shannon, and marched up to the enemy, determined to give them battle, tho' his forces did not exceed eighteen thousand; and the Irish were posted in a very advantageous situation. St. Ruth had made an admirable disposition, and taken every precaution that military skill could suggest. His centre extended along a rising ground, uneven in many places, intersected with banks and ditches, joined by lines of communication,

tion, and fronted by a large bog almost impassable: the right was fortified with intrenchments, and his left secured by the castle of Aughrim. He harangued his army in the most pathetic strain, conjuring them to exert their courage in defence of their holy religion, in the extirpation of heresy, in recovering their ancient honours and estates, and in restoring a pious King to the throne, from whence he had been expelled by an unnatural usurper. He employed the priests to enforce his exhortations, to assure the soldiers, that they might depend upon the prayers of the church; and that in case they should fall in battle, the saints and angels would convey their souls to heaven. They are said to have sworn on the sacrament, that they would not desert their colours, and to have received an order, that no quarter should be given to the French heretics in the army of the Prince of Orange. Ginckle had encamped on the Roscommon side of the river Suir, within three miles of the enemy; and, after having reconnoitred their posture, resolved to attack them on Sunday, the 12th of July. The necessary orders being given, the army passed the river at two fords and a stone bridge, and, advancing to the edge of the great bog, began to force the two passes, in order to possess the ground on the other side. The enemy fought with great fury, and the horse were several times repulsed; but, at length, the troops upon the right carried their point by means of some field-pieces. The day was now so far advanced, that the general was inclined to postpone the battle till next morning; but perceiving some disorder among the enemy, and fearing they would decamp in the night, he altered his resolution, and ordered the attack to be renewed. At six o'clock in the evening, the left wing of the English

lish advanced to the right of the Irish, from whom they met with an obstinate resistance, but after disputing it for some time, St. Ruth was killed by a cannon ball, and his fate determined that of his troops, they were thrown into such confusion, as Sarsfield, his successor in command, could not remedy. Major-general Rouvigny also, a brave and experienced English general, advanced with his five regiments, and having passed the hollow way without opposition, charged the enemy in flank, and bore down all before him with surprising impetuosity. The centre redoubled their efforts, and pushed the Irish to the top of the hill; and then their whole line giving way at once from right to left, threw down their arms. The first fled towards a bog in their rear, and their horse took the route by the highway to Lough Neagh. Both were pursued by the English cavalry, who, for four miles, made a terrible slaughter. In this engagement above four thousand of the enemy were slain, and six hundred taken; together with all their baggage, tents, provisions, ammunition, and artillery; twenty-nine pair of colours, twelve standards, and almost all the arms of the infantry. In a word, the victory was decisive; and not above eight hundred of the English were killed on the field of battle. The vanquished retreated in great confusion and disorder to Limerick, where they resolved to make a final stand, in hopes of receiving such succours from France, as would either enable them to retrieve their affairs, or obtain good terms from the court of England. There Tyrconnel died of a broken heart, after having survived his authority and reputation, and incurred the contempt of the French, as well as the hatred of the Irish, whom he had advised

vised to submit to the new government, rather than totally ruin themselves and their families.

The Irish, seeing themselves surrounded on all sides, determined to capitulate. General Sarsfield and colonel Wahop signified this their resolution; hostages were exchanged, a negotiation was begun, and hostilities ceased on both sides. The lords justices arrived in the camp on the 1st of October; and, on the fourth, the capitulation was executed, extending to all the places in the kingdom that were still in the hands of the Irish. The Roman Catholics were restored to the enjoyment of such liberty in the exercise of religion, as was consistent with the laws of Ireland, and conformable with that which they possessed in the reign of Charles II. All persons whatever were entitled to the protection of these laws, and restored to the possession of their estates, privileges, and immunities, upon their submitting to the present government, and taking the oath of allegiance to their majesties, King William and Queen Mary, excepting, however, certain persons who had forfeited or were exiled. In order to allay the violence of party, and extinguish private animosities, it was agreed, that no person should be sued or impleaded on either side, for any trespass; or made accountable for the rents, tenements, lands, or houses, he had received or enjoyed since the beginning of the war. Every nobleman and gentleman comprized in these articles, was authorized to keep a sword, a case of pistols, and a gun, for his defence or amusement. The inhabitants of Limerick and other garrisons were permitted to remove their goods and chattels without search, visitation, or payment of duty. All persons were indulged with
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free leave to remove with their families and effects to any other country except England and Scotland. All officers and soldiers in the service of King James, willing to go beyond sea, were at liberty to march in bodies to the places of embarkation, to be conveyed to the continent, with the French officers and troops. They were furnished with passports, convoys, and carriages by land and water; and general Ginckle engaged to provide seventy ships, if necessary, for their transportation, with two men of war for the accommodation of their officers, and to serve as a convoy to the fleet. And that all the garrisons should march out of their respective towns and fortresses, with the honours of war: that all prisoners of war should be set at liberty on both sides: that the general should provide two vessels to carry over two different persons to France, with intimation of this treaty; and that none of those who were willing to quit the kingdom, should be detained on account of debt, or any other pretence. This is the substance of the famous treaty of Limerick, which the Irish Roman Catholics consider as the great charter of their civil and religious liberties. The town of Limerick was surrendered to Ginckle; but both sides agreed, that the two armies should entrench themselves, until the Irish should embark, lest any disorders might arise from a communication.

When the articles of capitulation were ratified, and hostages exchanged for their due execution, about fourteen thousand of those who had fought in favour of King James, embarked under convoy of a French squadron, choosing rather to undergo exile from their native country, than submit to the government of King William.

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When they arrived in France, they were welcomed by a letter from King James, who thanked them for their loyalty; told them they should still serve under his commission and command; and that the King of France had already given orders for their being new clothed, and put into quarters of refreshment.

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L E T T E R IV.

THE reduction of Ireland being thus completed, the only hopes of the fugitive King now depended on the assistance of Lewis XIV. who promised to make a descent upon England in his favour. The French King was punctual; he supplied the fugitive Monarch with an army, consisting of a body of French troops, some English and Scotch refugees, and the Irish regiments which had been transported from Limerick into France, who by long discipline, became excellent soldiers. This army was assembled between Cherbourg and La Hogue; King James commanded it in person; and more than three hundred transports were provided for landing it on the English shore. Tourville, the French admiral, at the head of sixty-three ships of the line, was appointed to favour the descent, and had orders to attack the enemy, if they should attempt to oppose him. All things conspired to revive the hopes of the hitherto unfortunate King.

These preparations on the side of France were soon known at the court of England, and precautions were taken for a vigorous opposition; all the
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secret contrivances of the banished King's adherents were early discovered to the English ministry by spies; and they took proper measures to defeat them. Admiral Russel was ordered to put to sea with all possible expedition; and he soon appeared with ninety-nine ships of the line, besides frigates and fireships. Both fleets met at La Hogue. On the success of this engagement, all the hopes of James depended; but the victory was on the side of the English; the fight continued ten hours, and the pursuit two days; fifteen French men of war were destroyed; and the blow was so decisive, that from that time, France seemed to relinquish her claims to the empire of the ocean.

James was now reduced to the lowest ebb of despondence; his designs upon England were quite frustrated; nothing was now left his friends but terror and despair, or the hopes of assassinating the Monarch on the throne. These base attempts, as barbarous as they were useless, were not entirely disagreeable to the temper of James: it is said, he encouraged and proposed them; but they all ended in the destruction of their undertakers. He passed the rest of his days at St. Germain, a pensioner on the bounties of Lewis, and assisted by occasional liberalities from his daughter, and friends in England. He died in 1700, at St. Germain. Some pretend that miracles were wrought at his tomb. We have seen few deposed Kings that have not died with a reputation for sanctity, for afflictions are the best tutors for making Kings, as well as subjects know themselves.

The defeat at La Hogue confirmed King William's safety and title to the crown: the Jacobites were now a feeble and a disunited faction; new parties, therefore, arose among those who had been friends of the revolution, and William found as
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much opposition from his parliament at home, as from the enemy in the field. His chief motive for accepting the crown, was to engage England more deeply in the concerns of Europe. It had ever been his ambition to humble the French, whom he considered as the most formidable enemies of that liberty which he idolized; and all his politics lay in making alliances against them. Many of the English, on the other hand, had neither the same animosity against the French, nor the same terrors of their increasing power; they therefore considered the interests of the nation as sacrificed to foreign connections, and complained, that the war on the continent fell most heavily on them, though they had the least interest in its success. To these motives of discontent was added, his partiality to his own countrymen, in prejudice of English subjects, together with his proud reserve and sullen silence, so unlike the behaviour of all their former Kings. William heard their complaints with the most phlegmatic indifference; the interests of Europe alone employed all his attention; but, while he incessantly waked over the schemes of contending Kings and nations, he was unmindful of the cultivation of internal polity. Patriotism was ridiculed as an ideal virtue; the practice of bribing a majority in parliament became universal. The example of the great was caught up by the vulgar; all principle and even decency, was gradually banished; talents lay uncultivated; and the ignorant and profligate were received into favour.

William, upon accepting the crown, was resolved to preserve, as much as he was able, the privileges of a Sovereign. He was, as yet, intirely unacquainted with the nature of a limited monarchy,

chy, which was not then thoroughly understood in any part of Europe, except England alone. He therefore often controverted the views of his parliament, and was directed by arbitrary councils. One of the first instances of this was, in the opposition he gave to the bill for triennial parliaments; it had passed the two houses, and was sent up to receive the royal assent, which William refused to grant; the commons then voted, that whoever advised the King to this measure, was an enemy to his country. The bill, thus rejected, lay dormant for another season; and, being again brought in, the King found himself obliged though reluctantly, to comply. The same opposition, and the same success, attended a bill for regulating trials in cases of high treason, by which the accused was allowed a copy of his indictment, and a list of the names of his jury, two days before his trial, together with council to plead in his defence. That no person should be indicted, but upon the oaths of two faithful witnesses. This was one of the most salutary laws that had been long enacted; but, while penal statutes were mitigated on one hand, they were strangely increased by a number of others.

During these transactions in parliament, Dr. John Tillotson, archbishop of Canterbury, was seized with a fit of the dead palsy, in the chapel at Whitehall, and died on the 22d of Nov. deeply regretted by the King and Queen, and sincerely lamented by the public, as a pattern of elegance, ingenuity, meekness, charity, and moderation. He was succeeded in the metropolitan see by Dr. Tennison, bishop of Lincoln, recommended by the whig party, which had now gained the ascendancy in the council. The Queen did not long survive her favourite prelate. In
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about a month after his decease she was taken ill with the small-pox, and the symptoms proving dangerous, she prepared herself for death with great composure. She spent her time in exercises of devotion, and private conversation with the new archbishop. She received the sacrament with all the bishops who were in attendance; and expired on the 28th of December, in the sixth year of her reign, and the 33d of her age, to the inexpressible grief of the King, who, for several weeks after her death, could neither see company, nor attend to the business of the state. Queen Mary was in her person tall and well proportioned, with an oval countenance, lively eyes, agreeable features, a mild aspect, and an air of dignity. Her apprehension was clear, her memory tenacious, and her judgment solid; she was a zealous Protestant, scrupulously exact in all the duties of devotion, of an even, calm and mild disposition and conversation: she was ruffled by no passion, and seems to have been a stranger to the emotions of natural affection; for she ascended, without compunction the throne of her father, and treated her sister as a stranger.

The King on calling a new parliament, seemed to be as little confided in by it as he was by the former. Those acts which passed were rather extorted from him, than voluntarily complied with. The great business now seemed to consist in restraining corruption, and bringing such to justice, as had grown wealthy from the plunder of the public. The number of laws that were now enacted every session, seemed calculated for the safety of the subject; but, in reality, were symptoms of the universal corruption. The more corrupt the commonwealth, the more numerous are the laws.

William

William was willing to admit all the restraints they chose to lay on the royal prerogative in England, upon condition of being properly supplied with the means of humbling the power of France. War, and foreign politics, were all he knew, or desired to understand. The sums of money granted him for the prosecution of this war were incredible; and the nation, not contented with furnishing him with such supplies as they were immediately capable of raising, involved themselves in debts, which they have never since been able to discharge. For all this profusion England received, in return, the empty reward of military glory in Flanders, and the consciousness of having given the Dutch, whom they saved, frequent opportunities of being ungrateful.

The treaty of Ryswick, at length, put an end to a war, in which England had engaged without interest, and came off without advantage. In the general pacification, her interests seemed intirely deserted; and, for all her blood and treasure, the only equivalent she received, was, the King of France's acknowledgment of King William's title to the crown.

Such was the issue of a long and bloody war, which had drained England of her wealth and people, almost entirely ruined her commerce, debauched her morals, by encouraging venality and corruption, and entailed upon her the curse of foreign connections, as well as a national debt, which has ever since gradually encreased to an intolerable burthen. After all the blood and treasure which had been expended, William's ambition and revenge remained unsatisfied. Nevertheless, he accomplished his great aim of putting a stop to the encroachments of the French monarch;

narch; he mortified his vanity, humbled his pride and arrogance, and compelled him to disgorge the acquisitions, which he had made, in violation of public faith, justice, and humanity. Had, indeed, the allies been true to one another, had they acted from genuine zeal for the common interests of mankind, and prosecuted with vigour the plan which was originally concerted, Lewis would in all probability in a few campaigns, have been reduced to the most abject state of disgrace, despondence, and submission; for he was destitute of true courage and magnanimity.

The King, now freed from a foreign war, prepared to strengthen his authority at home. He conceived hopes of keeping up the forces that were granted him, in time of war, during the continuance of the peace; but he was not a little mortified to find, that the commons had passed a vote, that all the forces in English pay, exceeding seven thousand men, should be forthwith disbanded; and that those retained should be natural English subjects. A standing army was this Monarch's greatest delight; he had been bred up in camps, and knew no other pleasure but that of reviewing his troops, or dictating to generals. He professed himself, therefore, entirely displeased with the proposal; and his indignation was kindled to such a pitch, that he actually conceived a design of abandoning the government. His ministers, however, diverted him from this resolution, and persuaded him to consent to passing the bill.

It was at this time that the famous inquiry began into the Irish forfeitures, which the King had distributed among his own dependants. The commissioners appointed by parliament to examine those particulars, were Annesley, Trenchard, Hamilton,

milton, Langford, the Earl of Drogheda, Sir Francis Brewster, and Sir Richard Leving. The first four were actuated by all the virulence of faction; the other three were secretly guided by ministerial influence. They began their inquiry in Ireland, and proceeded with such severity as seemed to flow rather from resentment to the court, than from a love of justice, and abhorrence of corruption. They, in particular, scrutinized a grant of an estate which the King had made to Mrs. Villiers, now countess of Orkney, so as to expose his Majesty's partiality for that favourite, and subject him to an additional load of popular odium.

The commons having prepared, finished, and passed a bill of resumption, they ordered the report of the commissioners, together with the King's promise and speeches, and the former resolutions of the house touching the forfeited estates in Ireland, to be printed and published for their justification; and they resolved, that the procuring or passing exorbitant grants by any member, now of the privy council, or by any other that had been a privy counsellor, in this, or any former reign, to his use or benefit, was a high crime and misdemeanor. That justice might be done to purchasers and creditors in the act of resumption, thirteen trustees were authorised and empowered to hear and determine all claims relating to those estates, to sell them to the best purchasers; and the money arising was appropriated to pay the arrears of the army. It passed under the title of "A bill for granting an aid to his Majesty, by the sale of forfeited and other estates and interests in Ireland;" and, that it might undergo no alteration in the house of Lords, it was consolidated with the money-bill for the services
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of the year. In the house of Lords it produced warm debates; and some alterations were made, which the commons unanimously rejected. They seemed to be now more than ever exasperated against the ministry, and ordered a list of the privy council to be laid before the house. The Lords demanded conferences, which only served to heighten the animosities between the two houses; for the Lords insisted upon their amendments, and the commons were so provoked at their interfering in a money-bill, that they determined to give a loose to their resentment. They ordered all the doors of their house to be shut, that no members should go forth. Then they took into consideration the report of the Irish forfeitures, with the list of the privy counsellors; and a question was moved, that an address should be made to his Majesty to remove John Lord Somers, chancellor of England, from his presence and councils for ever. This, however, was carried in the negative by a great majority. The King was extremely chagrined at the bill, which he considered as an invasion of his prerogative, an insult on his person, and an injury to his friends and servants; and he at first resolved to hazard all the consequences of refusing to pass it into a law: but he was diverted from his purpose by the remonstrances of those in whom he chiefly confided. He could not, however, dissemble his resentment: he became sullen, peevish, and morose; and his enemies did not fail to make use of this additional ill humour, as a proof of his averfion to the people of this kingdom. Tho' the motion against the chancellor had miscarried, the commons resolved to address his Majesty, that no person who was not a native of his dominions, except
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his royal highness Prince George of Denmark, should be admitted into his Majesty's councils in England or Ireland. This resolution was levelled against the Earls of Portland, Albemarle, and Galway; but, before the address could be presented, the King went to the house of peers, and having passed the bill which had produced such a ferment, with some others, commanded the earl of Bridgwater, speaker of the house in the absence of the Chancellor, who was indisposed, to prorogue the parliament to the 23d of May.

On the 29th of June following the young Duke of Glocester, the only remaining child of seventeen, whom the Princess had borne, died of a malignant fever, in the eleventh year of his age. His death was much lamented by the greater part of the English nation, not only on account of his promising talents and gentle behaviour, but also as it left the succession undetermined, and might create disputes of fatal consequence to the nation. The Jacobites openly exulted in an event which they imagined would remove the chief bar to the interest of the pretended Prince of Wales; but the Protestants in general turned their eyes upon the Princess Sophia, electress dowager of Hanover, and grand-daughter of James I. The present state of affairs in England, however, afforded a very uncomfortable prospect. The King's health began to decline, and even his faculties decayed apace. No person was appointed to ascend the throne when it should become vacant. The Jacobite faction alone was eager, vigilant, enterprising, and elate. They dispatched Mr. Graham, brother of lord Preston, to the court of St. Germain's, immediately after the death of the Duke of Glocester; and began to bestir themselves all over the kingdom. A report was spread that

the Princess Anne had privately sent a message to her father; and Britain was once more threatened with a civil war, confusion, anarchy, and ruin.

William was not a little alarmed to find himself so unpopular among his subjects. That he might be the more able to bestow his attention effectually upon the affairs of England, he resolved to take some measures for the satisfaction of the Scottish nation. He permitted the parliament of that kingdom to meet on the 28th of October, and wrote to them from his house at Loo, containing an assurance that he would concur in every thing that could be reasonably proposed for maintaining and advancing the peace and welfare of their kingdom. He promised to give his royal assent to such acts as they should frame for the better establishment of the Presbyterian discipline, for preventing the growth of Popery, suppressing vice and immorality, encouraging piety and virtue, preserving and securing personal liberty, regulating and advancing trade, retrieving the losses, and promoting the interests of their African and Indian companies. Notwithstanding this soothing address, the national resentment continued to rage, and the parliament seemed altogether intractable; so that after some altercations both the English and Scotch nations under Sir Christopher Musgrave, and others of the Tory faction, began to think in earnest of establishing the succession upon the person of the pretended Prince of Wales.

But their endeavours for this purpose were all frustrated, and their wishes disconcerted by a declaration, settling the succession of the crown on the Princess Sophia, dutchess dowager of Hanover, after his Majesty and the Princess, and the heirs

heirs of their bodies respectively. As the Tories lay under the imputation of favouring the late King's interest, they exerted themselves zealously on this occasion to wipe off the aspersions, and insinuate themselves into the confidence of the people; but without effect. They were still considered in the same light, and as favourers of the same cause. The act of settlement being passed, the Earl of Macclesfield was sent to notify the transaction to the electress Sophia, who likewise received from his hands the order of the garter.

From this period William's reign seemed to consist almost entirely of disputes between him and his parliament. He considered his commons as a set of men desirous of power, and consequently resolved upon obstructing all his projects. He seemed but little attached to any party in the house; he veered from Whigs to Tories, as interest, or immediate exigence, demanded. England he considered as a place of labour, anxiety, and altercation. He used to retire to his seat at Loo in Holland, for those moments which he dedicated to pleasure or tranquillity. It was in this quiet retreat he planned the different successes of Europe, and laboured to undermine the politics of Lewis XIV. his insidious rival in power, and in fame. Against France his resentment was ever levelled, and he had made vigorous preparations for entering into a new war with that kingdom, when death interrupted the execution of his schemes. He was naturally of a very feeble constitution, and it was now almost exhausted by a life of continual action and care. He endeavoured to conceal the defects of his infirmities, and repair his health by riding. In one of his excursions to Hampton-court, his horse fell under him, and he himself was thrown off with such violence, that his col-

lar-bone was fractured. This, in a robust constitution, would have been a trifling accident, but to him it was fatal. Perceiving his end approach, the objects of his former care still lay next his heart; the interests of Europe still filled him with concern. The Earl of Albemarle arriving from Holland, he conferred with him in private on the posture of affairs abroad. Two days after, having received the sacrament from Archbishop Tension, he expired, in the fifty-second year of his age, after having reigned thirteen years.

William III. was of a middle stature, a thin body, and delicate constitution, subject to an asthma and continual cough from his infancy, his birth being in the seventh month. He had an aquiline nose, sparkling eyes, a large forehead, and a grave, solem aspect, was spirited, of which he gave some remarkable instances in his early days. All his senses were critical and exquisite. He had not the address of a courtier, being early called into the field, but enjoyed a remarkable quickness in his perception, and in battle, his deportment was free, alert, and animating. In courage, fortitude, and equanimity, he rivalled the most eminent heroes of antiquity; his education, which was carelessly superintended, happened from the misfortune of losing his father, this loss was most unhappily supplied by a tutor De Wit, who perceiving the promising genius of his pupil, laid every bar in its way, that treachery and intrigue could suggest, but his natural sagacity supplied this defect. He was most exemplarily decent and devout in the public exercise of divine worship; and never mentioned religious subjects but with a becoming gravity. He loved the Dutch, and was much beloved by them; but

but the ill returns he met with from the English nation, their jealousies of him, and opposition to his measures, soured his mind, and had in a great measure alienated his affections from them, which he took no care to conceal, though at the same time he saw the ill effect it had upon the business of the state. He nobly opposed the power of France, and stopped the progress of tyranny and persecution: ever remembering the dishonourable advantages they endeavoured to take of him in his tender years, and their general disposition to fish in troubled waters. In Ireland his services are remarkable, and he there shined in the lustre of his character, undauntedly fighting in defence of that kindom, relieving the Protestants there from their distresses, under which they suffered a severe persecution. They are mindful of his memory, gratefully attributing those blessings of religion and liberty, they at this day enjoy, to the guidance of his arm, under the influence of the Almighty power, and have raised trophies to perpetuate the battles he fought, and the victories he gained for them, and have in their capital an equestrian statue of him, well executed. Here he reigned free from the petulance of party, that *bed of affliction to British Kings*, and during his stay there, was in the meridian of his glory, his heart exulting in the works of his hands, riveting the bands of liberty and religion, relieving the distressed. He despised flattery, yet loved dominion; and was greater as the general of Holland, than the King of England. And in his days, such was the prevalency of corruption, that he was sometimes obliged to use that engine of power, to bring about designs, that should have been accomplished by means honourable, and not disgraceful to human nature.

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LETTER V.

THE distresses occasioned by the death of Princes are not so great, or so sincere, as the sufferers would fondly persuade us. The loss of King William was, at first, thought irreparable; but the prosperity of the kingdom seemed to acquire new vigour under his successor Queen Anne. This Princess was the second daughter of King James, by his first wife; she was, by the mother's side, descended from Chancellor Hyde, afterwards the Earl of Clarendon; and had been married to the Prince of Denmark, before her accession to the crown. She ascended the throne in the thirty-eighth year of her age, having undergone many vicissitudes after the expulsion of her father, and many severe mortifications during the reign of the late King. But, naturally possessed of an even, serene temper, she either was insensible of the disrespect shewn her, or had wisdom to conceal her resentment.

She came to the throne with sentiments no less unfavourable to France, than the late Monarch died in. She was wholly governed by the Countess of Marlborough, a woman of a bold spirit, and remarkable for intrigue, both in politics and gallantry. This lady advised a vigorous exertion of the English power against France, as she had already marked the Earl, her husband, for conducting all the operations both in the cabinet and the field. Thus uninfluenced, the Queen took early measures to assure her allies, the Dutch, with her intentions of union with them, and to contribute to their assistance, when it might be thought necessary to request it.

Lewis XIV. now grown familiar with disappointments

pointments and disgrace, yet still spurring on an exhausted kingdom to second the views of his ambition, expected, from the death of King William, a field open for conquests and glory. The vigilance of his late rival had blasted his laurels, and circumscribed his power; for, even after a defeat, William still was formidable. At the news of his death, therefore, the French Monarch could not suppress his joy, and his court at Versailles seemed to have forgotten its usual decorum in the sincerity of their rapture. But their pleasure was soon to terminate; a much more formidable enemy was now rising up to oppose them; a more able warrior, supported by the efforts of an indulgent mistress and a willing nation.

Immediately, upon the Queen's accession, war was declared against the French King, and that Monarch was accused of attempting to unite the crown of Spain to his own dominions, by placing his grandson upon the throne of that kingdom; thus attempting to destroy the equality of power among the states of Europe. This declaration was soon seconded with vigorous efforts; an alliance was formed between the Imperialists, the Dutch, and the English, who contributed more to the support of the war than the other two united. Marlborough was sent over to command the English army, and the allies declared him generalissimo of all their forces. Never was a man better calculated for debate and action than he; serene in the midst of danger, and cool in all the fury of battle. While his Countess governed the Queen, his influence governed the kingdom. An indefatigable warrior while in camp, and a skilful politician in courts; he thus became the most powerful enemy to France that England had raised, since the conquering times of Cressy and Agincourt.

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This general had learned the art of war under the famous Marshal Turenne, having been a volunteer in his army. He, at that time, went by the name of the *Handsome Englishman*; but Turenne foresaw his future greatness. He now gave the first proofs of his wisdom by advancing the subaltern officers, whose merit had hitherto been neglected; he gained the enemy's posts without fighting, ever advancing, and never losing one advantage which he had gained. To this general was opposed, on the side of France, the Duke of Burgundy, grandson of the King, a youth more qualified to grace a court, than conduct an army; the Marshal Boufflers, commanded under him, a man of courage and activity. But these qualities in both were forced to give way to the superior powers of their adversary; having forced them to retire by skilful marches, and after the loss of several towns, they gave up all hopes of acting offensively, and concluded the campaign with resolutions to prosecute the next with greater vigour.

Marlborough, upon his return to London, received the rewards of his merit, being thanked by the house of commons, and created a Duke by the Queen. The success of one campaign ever forwards the English to aim at new triumphs. Marlborough next season returned to the field, with more extensive authority, and greater confidence from his former success. He began the campaign by taking Bonne, the residence of the Elector of Cologne; he next retook Huys, Limbourg, and became master of all the Lower Rhine. The Marshal Villeroy, son to the King of France's governor, and educated with him, was now general of the French army. He was ever a favourite of Lewis, having shared his pleasures and his campaigns. He was brave, virtuous and polite; but unequal to the great task of
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command; and still more so, when opposed to so great a rival.

Marlborough, sensible of the abilities of his antagonist, was resolved, instead of immediately opposing him, to fly to the succour of the Emperor, his ally, who loudly requested his assistance, being pressed on every side by a victorious enemy. The English general resolving to strike a vigorous blow for his relief, took with him about thirteen thousand English troops, traversed extensive countries with an hasty march, arrived at the banks of the Danube, defeated a body of French and Bavarians stationed at Donavert to oppose him, passed the Danube, and laid the Dukedom of Bavaria, that had sided with the French, under contribution. Villeroy, who at first attempted to follow his motions, seemed, all at once, to have lost sight of his enemy; nor was he apprized of his route, until he was informed of his successes.

Marshal Tallard prepared, by another route, with thirty thousand men, to obstruct the Duke of Marlborough's retreat. This army was soon after joined by the Duke of Bavaria's forces; so that the French amounted to a body of sixty thousand disciplined veterans, commanded by the two best generals at that time in France. Tallard had established his reputation by former victories; he was active, penetrating, and had risen by the influence of merit alone. But this ardour often rose to impetuosity; and he was so short-sighted, as to be unable to distinguish at the smallest distance; and the Duke was very remarkable for his resolution and personal bravery. On the other hand, the Duke of Marlborough was now joined by Prince Eugene, a general bred up from his infancy in camps, and equal to Marlborough in intrigue and military knowledge. Their talents were conge-

genial ; and all their designs seemed to flow but from one source. Their army, when combined, amounted to about fifty-two thousand men ; troops that had been accustomed to conquer, and had seen the French, the Turks, and the Russians fly before them. The battle fought in consequence of this junction, both from the talents of the generals, the improvements in the art of war, the number and discipline of the troops, and the greatness of the contending powers, is reckoned the most remarkable of this century, it demands a more particular detail.

The French were posted on an hill, their right being covered by the Danube, and the village of Blenheim, and commanded by Marshal Tallard ; their left was defended by a village, and headed by the Elector and Marsin, an experienced French general. In the front of their army ran a rivulet, the banks of which were steep, and the bottom marshy. Marlborough and Eugene went together to observe the posture of the French forces. Notwithstanding their advantageous situation, they were resolved to attack them immediately. The battle began between twelve and one in the afternoon. Marlborough, at the head of the English troops, having passed the rivulet, attacked the cavalry of Tallard in the right. This general was at that time reviewing the disposition of his troops in the left ; and the cavalry fought for some time without the presence of their commander. Prince Eugene, on the left, had not yet attacked the forces of the Elector ; and it was an hour before he could bring his forces up to the engagement.

Tallard had no sooner heard that his right was attacked by the Duke, but he flew to its head. He found a furious encounter already begun, his cavalry thrice repulsed, and rallied as of-

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ten. He had a great body of forces in the village of Blenheim; he made an attempt to bring them to the charge. They were attacked by a part of Marlborough's forces so vigorously, that, instead of assisting the main body, they could hardly maintain their ground. All the French cavalry, being now attacked in flank, were totally defeated. The English army, thus half victorious, pierced up between the two bodies of the French, commanded by the Marshal and the Elector, while at the same time the forces in the village of Blenheim were separated by another detachment. In this terrible situation Tallard flew to rally some squadrons, but, from the shortness of his sight, mistaking a detachment of the enemy for his own, he was taken prisoner by the Hessian troops, who were in English pay. In the mean time, Prince Eugene on the left, after having been thrice repulsed, put the enemy into confusion. The rout then became general, and the flight precipitate. The consternation was such that the French soldiers threw themselves into the Danube, without knowing where they fled. The officers lost all their authority; there was no general left to secure a retreat. The allies were now masters of the field of battle, and surrounded the village of Blenheim, where a body of thirteen thousand had been posted in the beginning of the action, and still kept their ground. These troops, seeing themselves cut off from all communication with the rest of the army, threw down their arms, and surrendered themselves prisoners of war. Thus ended the battle of Blenheim, one of the most complete victories that was ever obtained. Twelve thousand French and Bavarians were slain in the field, or drowned in the Danube; thirteen thousand were made prisoners of war.

war. Of the allies about five thousand men were killed, and eight thousand wounded or taken.

The loss of the battle is imputed to two capital errors committed by Marshal Tallard ; first weakening the centre by detaching such a number of troops to the village of Blenheim, and then suffering the confederates to pass the rivulet, and form unmolested. The next day, when the Duke of Marlborough visited his prisoner, the Marshal paid him the compliment of having overcome the best troops in the world. *I hope, Sir,* replied the Duke, *you will except those by whom they were conquered.*

A country of an hundred leagues extent fell, by this defeat, into the hands of the victor.

Having thus succeeded beyond his hopes, the Duke once more returned to England, where he found the people in a transport of joy ; he was welcomed as an hero, who had retrieved the glory of the nation ; and the Queen, the parliament, and the people were ready to second him in all his designs. The manor of Woodstock was conferred upon him for his services ; and the Lord-keeper, in the name of the Peers, honoured him with that praise he so well deserved.

The success of the last campaign induced the English to increase their supplies for the next, and the Duke had fixed upon the Moselle for the scene of action ; but being disappointed by Prince Lewis, who promised his assistance, he returned to the Netherlands to oppose Villeroy, who, in his absence, undertook the siege of Liege. Villeroy, having received advice of the Duke's approach, abandoned his enterprize, and retreated within his lines. Marlborough was resolved to force them. He led his troops to the charge ; after a warm but short engagement the enemy's horse were defeated with great slaughter. The infantry, being abandoned,

bandoned, retreated in great disorder to an advantageous post, where they again drew up in order of battle. Had the Duke been permitted to take advantage of their consternation, as he proposed, it is possible he might have gained a complete victory; but he was opposed by the Dutch officers, who represented it in such a light to the Deputies of the States, that they refused to consent to its execution. This timidity was highly resented in England, and laid the first foundation of suspecting the Dutch fidelity; they were secretly accused of a desire to protract the war, by which they alone of all the powers of Europe were gainers.

While the arms of England were crowned with success in the Netherlands, they were not less fortunate in Spain, where efforts were made to fix Charles, Duke of Austria, upon the throne. The greatest part of that kingdom had declared in favour of Philip IV. grandson to Lewis XIV. who had been nominated successor by the late King of Spain's will. We have already seen, that, by a former treaty among the powers of Europe, Charles of Austria was appointed heir to that crown; and this treaty had been guarantied by France herself, who now intended to reverse it in favour of a descendant of the house of Bourbon. Charles, therefore, entered Spain, assisted by the arms of England; and invited by the Catalonians, who had declared in his favour. He was furnished with two hundred transports, thirty ships of war, nine thousand men, and the Earl of Peterborough, a man of even romantic bravery, was placed at their head.

One of the first efforts of these forces was to take Gibraltar, which had hitherto been deemed impregnable. A ledge of lofty rocks defended it almost on every side by land, and an open and stormy

stormy bay took away all security for shipping by sea. A few troops were therefore capable of defending it against the most numerous armies. The security of the garrison proved their ruin. A detachment of eighteen hundred marines were landed upon that neck of level ground which joins it to the continent. These were incapable of attempting any thing effectual, and even destitute of hopes of succeeding. A body of sailors, in boats, were ordered to attack an half-ruined mole; they took possession of the platform, unterrified by a mine that blew up an hundred men in the air; with the utmost intrepidity they kept their ground, and, being soon joined by other seamen, took a redoubt, between the mole and the town, by storm. The governor was now obliged to capitulate; and the Prince of Hesse entered the town, amazed at the success of so desperate an enterprize. This was a glorious and an useful acquisition to the British dominions; their trade to the Mediterranean was thus secured; and they had here a repository capable of containing all things necessary for the repairing of fleets, or the equipment of armies.

Soon after the taking this important garrison, the English fleet, now mistress of the seas, attacked the French Admiral, who commanded fifty-two ships of war. After an obstinate contest the English became victorious; the French fleet sailed away, nor could it be brought again to the engagement, though the losses on either side were equal. This may be reckoned the final effort of France by sea; in all subsequent engagements their chief care was rather to consult means of escape than of victory. Nor yet were the French or Spaniards willing to suffer Gibraltar to be taken, without an effort for reprisal. Philip sent an army to retake it, and France a fleet of thirteen ships of the line; both

both were equally unsuccessful; part of the fleet was dispersed by a tempest, and another part taken by the English; while the army, having made little or no progress by land, was obliged to abandon the enterprize.

Nor were the English less successful in asserting the title of Charles to the kingdom. Their army was commanded by the Earl of Peterborough, one of the most singular and extraordinary men of the age. At fifteen he fought against the Moors in Africa; at twenty he assisted in compassing the revolution. He now carried on this war in Spain, almost at his own expence; and his friendship for the Duke Charles was his strongest motive to undertake it. He was deformed in person, but, of a mind the most generous and active that ever inspired an honest bosom. His first attempt in Spain was to besiege Barcelona, a strong city, with a garrison of five thousand men, while his own army amounted to but seven thousand. Never was an attempt more bold, or more fortunate. The operations began by a sudden attack on fort Monjuice, strongly situated on an hill, that commanded the city. The outworks were taken by storm; a shell chanced to fall into the body of the fort, and blew up the magazine of powder; the garrison of the fort was struck with consternation, and surrendered without farther resistance. The town still remained unconquered; the English general erected batteries against it, and, in a few days, the governor capitulated. During the interval of capitulation, the Germans and Catalonians in the English army had entered the town, and were plundering all before them. The governor thought himself betrayed, he upbraided the treachery of the general, Peterborough flew among the plunderers, drove them from their prey, and returned soon after coolly

coolly to finish the capitulation. The Spaniards were equally amazed at the generosity of the English, and the baseness of their own countrymen, who had led on to the spoil.

The conquest of all Valencia succeeded the taking of this important place; the enemy, after a defeated attempt to retake Barcelona, saw themselves deprived of almost every hope; the party of Charles was increasing every day; he became master of Aragon, Carthagen, and Granada; the road to Madrid, their capital city, lay open before him; the Earl of Galloway entered it in triumph, and there proclaimed Charles King of Spain, without farther opposition.

The English had scarce time to rejoice at these successes of their arms, when their attention was turned to new victories in Flanders. The Duke of Marlborough had early commenced the campaign, and brought an army of eighty thousand men into the field, and still expected reinforcements from Denmark and Prussia. The court of France was resolved to attack him before this junction. Villeroy, who commanded an army consisting of eighty thousand men, near Tirlemont, had orders to engage. He accordingly drew up his forces in a strong camp; his right was flanked by the river Mehaigne, his left was posted behind a marsh, and the village of Ramillies lay in the centre. Marlborough, who perceived this disposition, drew up his army accordingly. He knew that the enemies left could not pass the marsh, to attack him, but at a great disadvantage; he therefore weakened his troops on that quarter, and pressed on the centre with superior numbers. They kept their ground but a short time in the centre, and, at length, gave way on all sides. The horse abandoned their foot, and were so closely

closely pursued, that but few escaped. Six thousand men were taken prisoners, and about eight thousand killed or wounded. This victory was almost as signal as that of Blenheim; Bavaria and Cologne were the fruits of the one, and all Brabant was gained by the other. The French troops were dispirited, and the city of Paris overwhelmed with consternation. Lewis XIV. who, in the beginning of his reign, had long been flattered with conquest, was now humbled to such a degree as might have excited the compassion of his enemies; he intreated for peace, but in vain; the allies carried all before them; and his very capital dreaded the approach of the conquerors. What neither his power, his armies, nor his politics, could effect, a party in England performed; and the dissension between the Whigs and the Tories saved the dominions of France, that now seemed ready for ruin.

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L E T T E R VI.

QUEEN Anne's councils had hitherto been governed by a Whig ministry; they still pursued the schemes of the late King; and, upon republican principles, strove to diffuse freedom throughout Europe. In a government, where the reasoning of individuals, retired from power, generally leads those who command, the designs of the ministry must change, as the people happen to alter. The Queen's personal virtues, her successes, her adulation from the throne, contributed to change the disposition of the nation; they now (ever fickle) began to defend hereditary succession, non-resistance, and divine right; they were now become

Tories

Tories, and were ready to controvert the designs of a Whig ministry, whenever a leader offered to conduct them to the charge.

The famous debate in the house of lords, concerning the danger of the church, began now to be agitated. The lord Halifax had moved, that a day might be appointed to consider of it; and this day being appointed, the Queen went to the house incognito to hear the debate. The Lord Rochester began it, and the reasons he assigned for believing the church to be in danger, were the security-act in Scotland; the absence of the heir to the crown; and not passing the occasional bill. No person having seconded his lordship, therefore the Lord Halifax spoke, who said the security act was foreign to church affairs, and was unavoidably passed to prevent immediate rebellion. He slighted the second reason; and upon the third said, that matter had been sufficiently canvassed, and the house had given their opinion of it already. The Bishop of London gave as his reason for the church's danger, the growth of profaneness and irreligion, books and sermons published, wherein resistance to the higher powers were authorised, &c. The Bishop of Salisbury answered him, and enlarged upon the subject; and in the end affirmed, that more than ordinary care had been taken of late in promoting religion, in erecting schools for instructing youth, and giving away books to excite piety, wherein one thousand two hundred pounds had been expended the last year. The Archbishop of York complained of the increase of dissenting academies, to which the Lord Wharton answered, by complaining of the schools and seminaries held by non-jurors. The Bishop of Ely complained of the heat and violence in the universities. The Bishop
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of Litchfield complained of the abusive language in common use against the bishops. And the Bishop of Bath and Wells complained of the invidious terms of high-church and low-church. And finally the Lord Somers closed the debate by a healing speech. The question was put, whether the church was in danger? and carried in the negative by a great majority. Then the house resolved, "That the church of England, as by law established, which was rescued from the utmost danger by King William III. of glorious memory, is now, by God's blessing, under the happy reign of her Majesty, in a most safe and flourishing condition; and that whoever went about to suggest and insinuate to the contrary, was an enemy to the Queen, the church, and the kingdom." Which vote being communicated to the commons, and their concurrence desired therein, was, upon the question, carried in the affirmative by a majority of forty voices. Whereupon both houses joined in addresses to the Queen, exhibiting the said resolution, and desiring her Majesty to make it public; and a proclamation was published accordingly.

But, in the mean time, discontents began to arise in the nation, and these were fomented and cherished by the Tory faction, and still increased by a meditated union between the two kingdoms of England and Scotland. The treaty for this purpose was chiefly managed by the ministry; and although it was fraught with numberless benefits to either kingdom, yet it raised the murmurs of both. The English expected nothing from the union of so poor a nation, but a participation of their necessities; they thought it unjust, that, while Scotland was granted an eighth part of the legislature, yet it should be taxed but a fortieth
part

part of the supplies. On the other hand, the Scotch considered that their independency would be quite destroyed, and the dignity of their crown betrayed; they dreaded an increase of taxes, and seemed not much to esteem the advantages of an increased trade. In every political measure there are disadvantages on either side, which may be sufficient to deter the timid, but which a bold legislator disregards. The union, after some struggles, was effected; Scotland was no longer to have a parliament, but to send sixteen Peers, chosen from the body of their nobility, and forty-five commoners. The two kingdoms were called by the common name of Great Britain; and all the subjects of both were to enjoy a communication of privileges and advantages.

This measure, which strengthened the vigour of government, by uniting its force, seemed to threaten the enemies of Great Britain with dangers abroad; but the discontents of the nation at home prevented the effects of its newly acquired power. The Tories, now become the majority, were displeased with the Whig ministry; they looked with jealousy on the power of the Earl of Godolphin and the Duke of Marlborough, who had long governed the Queen, and lavished the treasures of the nation on conquests more glorious than serviceable. To them the people imputed the burthens under which they now groaned, and others which they had reason to fear. The loss of a battle near Almanza in Spain, where the English army was taken prisoners, under the command of the Earl of Galloway, with some other miscarriages, tended to heighten their displeasure, and dispelled the glories of former success. The Tories did not fail to inculcate and exaggerate these causes of discontent, while Robert Harley,

ley, afterwards Earl of Oxford, and Henry St. John, made soon after Lord Bolingbroke, secretly fanned the flame.

Harley had lately become a favourite of the Queen; the petulance of the Dutchess of Marlborough, who formerly ruled the Queen, had entirely alienated the affections of her mistress. She now placed them upon one Mrs. Masham, who was entirely devoted to Lord Oxford. Oxford was possessed of uncommon erudition; he was polite and intriguing; he had insinuated himself into the royal favour, and determined to sap the credit of Marlborough and his adherents. In this attempt he chose for his second, Bolingbroke, a man of exalted powers of thinking, eloquent, ambitious, and enterprizing. Bolingbroke was, at first, contented to act a subordinate character in this meditated opposition; but, soon perceiving the superiority of his own talents, from being an inferior, he was resolved to become Lord Oxford's rival. The Duke of Marlborough soon perceived their growing power, and resolved to crush it in the beginning. He refused to join the Privy Council, while Harley was secretary. Godolphin joined his influence in this measure; and the Queen was obliged to appease their resentment, by discharging Harley from his place: Bolingbroke was resolved to share his disgrace, and voluntarily relinquished his employments.

This violent measure, which seemed, at first, favourable to the Whig ministry, laid the first foundation of its ruin; the Queen was entirely displeased with the haughty conduct of the Duke; and, from that moment, he lost her confidence and affection. Harley was enabled to act now with less disguise, and to take more vigorous measures for the completion of his designs. In him the

Queen

Queen reposed all her trust, though he now had no visible concern in the administration.

The Whig party, in this manner, seemed to triumph for some time, until an occurrence, in itself, of no great importance, served to shew the spirit of the times. Doctor Sacheverel, rector of St. Saviour's, in Southwark, a man of narrow intellects and bigotted principles, had published two sermons, in which he strongly insisted on the illegality of resisting Kings, and enforced the divine origin of their authority; declaimed against the Dissenters, and exhorted the church to put on the whole armour of God. There was nothing in the sermons, either nervous, well written, or clear; they owed all their celebrity to the complexion of the times, and are at present justly forgotten. Sacheverel was impeached by the commons, at the bar of the upper house; they seemed resolutely bent upon punishing him; and a day was appointed for trying him before the Lords at Westminster-Hall. Mean while, the Tories, who, one and all, approved his principles, were as violent in his defence as the parliament had been in his prosecution. The eyes of the kingdom were turned upon this extraordinary trial; the Queen herself was every day present as a private spectator. His trial lasted three weeks, and vast multitudes attended him each day, as he went to the hall, shouting, and praying for his success. The body of the people espoused his cause. They destroyed several meeting-houses, and plundered the dwellings of dissenters; and the Queen herself could not but relish those doctrines which contributed to extend her prerogative. The Lords were divided; they continued undetermined for some time; but, at length, after much obstinate dispute and virulent altercation, Sacheverel was found guilty

guilty by a majority of 17 voices, and 34 peers entered a protest against this decision. He was prohibited from preaching, for the term of three years, and his two sermons were ordered to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman. The lenity of this sentence was considered, by the Tories, as a victory; and, in fact, their faction took the lead all the remaining part of this reign.

The King of France, long persecuted by fortune, and each hour fearing for his capital, once more petitioned for peace. Godolphin and Marlborough, who had, since the beginning of the war, enjoyed the double advantage of extending their glory, and increasing their fortunes, were intirely averse to any negotiation which tended to diminish both. The Tories, on the other hand, willing to humble the general, and his partner Godolphin, were sincerely desirous of a peace, as the only measures to attain their ends. A conference was, at length, begun at Gertruydenberg, under the influence of Marlborough, Eugene, and Zinzendorf, all three entirely averse to the treaty. The French ministers were subjected to every species of mortification; their conduct narrowly watched; their master insulted; and their letters opened. They offered to satisfy every complaint that had given rise to the war; they consented to abandon Philip IV. in Spain; to grant the Dutch a large barrier; they even consented to grant a supply towards dethroning Philip; but even this offer was treated with contempt, and at length the conference was broken off, while Lewis resolved to hazard another campaign.

The designs of the Dutch, and the English general, were too obvious not to be seen, and properly explained by their enemies in England. The writers of the Tory faction, who were men of the first

first rank of literary merit, displayed the avarice of the Duke, and the self-interested conduct of the Dutch; they insisted, that, while England was exhausting her strength in foreign conquests, she was losing her liberty at home; that her ministers were not contented with sharing the plunder of an impoverishing state, but were resolved upon destroying its liberties also. To these complaints were added the real pride of the then prevailing ministry, and the insolence of the Dutchess of Marlborough, who hitherto had possessed more real power than the whole privy-council united. Mrs. Masham, who had first been recommended to the Queen's favour by the Dutchess, now fairly supplanted her patroness; and, by a steady attention to please the Queen, had gained all that good opinion she had reposed in her former confidante. It was too late that the Dutchess perceived this alienation of the Queen's favour, and now began to think of repairing it by demanding an audience of her Majesty, in order to vindicate her character from every suspicion; but formal explanations ever widen the breach.

Mr. Hill, brother to the new favourite, was appointed by the Queen to be colonel of a regiment; this the Duke of Marlborough could by no means approve. He expostulated with his sovereign: he retired in disgust; the Queen, by a letter, gave him leave to dispose of the regiment as he should think proper; but, before it came to his hands, he had sent a letter to the Queen, desiring she would permit him to retire from his employments. This was the conjuncture which the Tories had long wished for, and which the Queen herself was internally pleased with. She now perceived herself set free from an arbitrary combination, by which she had been long kept in dependance. The Earl
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of Godolphin, the Duke's son-in-law, was dismissed from his office; and the treasury committed to Harley, the antagonist of his ambition. Lord Somers was removed from the presidency of the council, and the Earl of Rochester appointed in his room. In a word, there was not one Whig left in any office of state, except the Duke of Marlborough; he retained his employments for a short time, unsupported and alone, an object of envy and factious reproach; nay, so unaccountable is popular resentment, and so precarious popular esteem, that he, who was lately considered as an honour to his country, was now become the object of parliamentary censure, though his conduct and success were still the same. He, who had humbled the pride, and checked the ambition, of France; who had retrieved the glory of the British arms, and secured the liberties of Europe, was, in a few weeks, become the object of contempt; even his courage was called in question, and this consummate general represented as one of the lowest of the human race. The Duke bore up, for some time, against the accumulated load of scandal, and torrent of reproach, till he found his cause utterly irretrievable: he was then obliged, after trying another campaign, to resign, as the rest of his party had done before.

As war seemed to have been the desire of the Whig party, so peace seemed to have been that of the Tories. Through the course of English history, France seems to have been the peculiar object of the hatred of the Whigs, and a continual war with that nation has been their aim. On the contrary, the Tories have not regarded that nation, with such opposition of principle; and a peace with France has generally been the result of a

Tory administration. For some time, therefore, a negotiation for peace had been carried on between the court of France, and the new ministers, who had a double aim in this measure; namely, to mortify the Whigs and the Dutch, and to free their country from a ruinous war, which had all the appearance of becoming habitual to the constitution.

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L E T T E R VII.

THE conferences for peace were first opened at London; and some time after the Queen sent the Earl of Strafford as ambassador into Holland, to communicate the proposals which the French King had made towards the re-establishment of the public tranquillity. The spirit of the times was now changed; Marlborough's aversion to such measures could no longer retard the negotiation; Lord Strafford obliged the Dutch to name plenipotentiaries, and to receive those of France. The treaty began at Utrecht; but as all the powers concerned in this conference, except France and England, were averse to every accommodation, their disputes served rather to retard than accelerate a pacification. The English ministry, however, had foreseen, and provided against, those difficulties. Their great end was to free the subjects from a long unprofitable war, a war where conquest could add nothing to their power, and a defeat might be prejudicial to internal tranquillity. As England had borne the chief burthen of the war, it was but just to expect that it would take
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the lead in dictating the terms of peace. There were, however, three persons of very great interest and power, who laboured, by every art, to protract the negotiation; those were the Duke of Marlborough, Prince Eugene, and Heinsius the Dutch grand pensionary. Prince Eugene even came over to London, in order to retard the progress of a peace, which seemed to interrupt his career of glory; he found at court such a reception as was due to his merit and fame; but, at the same time, such a repulse as the proposals he made seemed to deserve.

This negotiation at London failing of effect, the allies practised every artifice to intimidate the Queen, and blacken the characters of her ministers; to raise and continue a dangerous ferment among the people, to obstruct her councils, and divulge her designs. Her ministers were very sensible of their present dangerous situation; they perceived her health was daily impairing, and her successor countenanced the opposite faction. In case of her death, they had nothing to expect but prosecution and ruin, for obeying her commands; their only way therefore was to give up their present employments, or hasten the conclusion of a treaty, the utility of which would be the best argument with the people in their favour. The peace therefore was hastened; and this haste, in some measure, relaxed the ministers obstinacy, in insisting upon such terms and advantages as they had a right to demand. Seeing that nothing was to be expected from the concurrence of the allies, the courts of London and Versailles resolved to enter into a private treaty, in which such terms might be agreed on as would enable both

courts to proscribe terms to the rest of the contending powers.

In the mean time the Duke of Marlborough having been deposed from his office of general, the command of the English army in Flanders was given to the Duke of Ormond; but, at the same time, private orders were given him not to act with vigour against an enemy, which was upon the point of being reconciled by more mild methods of treatment. The allies, thus deprived of the assistance of the English, still continued their animosity, and were resolved to continue the war separately; they had the utmost confidence in Prince Eugene, their general; and, though lessened by the separation of the British forces, they were still superior to that of the enemy, which were commanded by Marshal Villars, a man who seemed to possess all the great qualities, and all the foibles of his country, in a supreme degree; valiant, generous, alert, lively, boastful, and avaricious. The loss of the British forces was soon severely felt in the allied army. Villars attacked a separate body of their troops encamped at Denain, under the command of the Earl of Albemarle. Their intrenchments were forced, and seventeen battalions either killed or taken, the Earl himself, and all the surviving officers, being made prisoners of war.

These successes of Marshal Villars served to hasten the treaty of Utrecht. The British ministers at the congress, responsible at once for their conduct to the Queen, their country, and all Europe, neglected nothing that might have been serviceable either to the allies, or that might conduce to the public safety. They first stipulated that Philip V. who had been settled on the throne
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of Spain, should renounce all right to the crown of France, the union of two such powerful kingdoms being thought dangerous to the liberties of the rest of Europe. They covenanted that the Duke of Berry, his brother, the presumptive heir to the crown of France, after the death of the Dauphin, should also renounce his right to the crown of Spain, in case he became king of France. The Duke of Orleans was to make the same resignation. To oblige men thus to renounce their rights might have been injustice; but, for every good acquired, some inconveniencies must be endured; these resignations, in some measure, served to give repose to the world harrassed and depopulated by long war, and have since become the basis of the law of nations, to which Europe professes present submission.

By this treaty the Duke of Savoy had the island of Sicily, with the title of King, with Fenestrelles, and other places on the continent; which increase of his power seemed, in some measure, drawn from the spoils of the French monarchy. The Dutch had the barrier granted them, which they so long sought after; and if the house of Bourbon seemed stripped of some dominion, in order to enrich the Duke of Savoy, on the other hand, the house of Austria was taxed to supply the wants of the Hollanders, who were put in possession of the strongest towns in Flanders. With regard to England, its glory and interests were secured. They caused the fortifications of Dunkirk to be demolished, and its port to be destroyed. Spain gave up all right to Gibraltar and the island of Minorca. France resigned Hudson's-Bay, Nova-Scotia, and Newfoundland; but they were left in possession of Cape-Breton, and the liberty

berty of drying their fish upon the shore. Among the articles which were glorious to the English, it may be observed, that the setting free those who had been confined in the French prisons for professing the Protestant religion, was not the least. It was stipulated, that the Emperor should possess the kingdom of Naples, the Duchy of Milan, and the Spanish Netherlands; that the King of Prussia should have Upper Gueldre; and a time was fixed for the Emperor's acceding to these resolutions, for he had hitherto obstinately refused to assist at the negotiations. Thus it appears, that the English ministry did justice to all the world; but their country refused it to them; they were branded with all the terms of infamy and reproach by the Whig party, and accused of having given up the privileges and rights which England had to expect. Each party reviled the other in turn; the kingdom was divided into opposite factions, but so violent in their cause, that the truth, which both pretended to espouse, was attained by neither; both were virulent, and both wrong. Addison, Steele, and Halifax headed the party that supported the Whig principles, and Swift was the chief champion of the ministry. These commotions, in some measure, served still more to impair the Queen's health. One fit of sickness succeeded another; nor did the consolation of her ministry serve to allay her anxieties; for they had now fallen out among themselves, the council chamber being turned into a theatre for the most bitter altercations. Oxford advised a reconciliation with the Whigs, whose resentment he now began to fear, as the Queen's health appeared to be impaired. Bolingbroke, on the other hand, affected to set the Whigs at defiance; professed

professed a warm zeal for the church, and mixed flattery with his other assiduities. Bolingbroke prevailed; Lord Oxford, the treasurer, was removed from his employment, and retired, meditating schemes of revenge, or new projects for future re-establishment. His fall was so sudden, and so unexpected, that no plan was established for supplying the vacancy occasioned by his disgrace. All was confusion at court; and the Queen had no longer force to support the burthen: she sunk into a state of insensibility, and thus found refuge from anxiety in lethargic slumber. Every method was contrived to rouse her from this state, but in vain; her physicians despaired of her life. The privy council assembled upon this occasion; the Dukes of Somerset and Argyle, being informed of the desperate state in which she lay, entered the assembly without being summoned; the members were surprised at their appearance; but the Duke of Shrewsbury thanked them for their readiness to give their assistance at such a critical juncture, and desired them to take their places. They now took all the necessary precautions for securing the succession in the house of Hanover, sent orders to the Heralds at Arms, and to a troop of life-guards to be in readiness to mount, in order to proclaim the Elector of Brunswick King of Great Britain.

On the thirtieth of July the Queen seemed somewhat relieved by medicines, rose from her bed, and, about eight, walked a little: when, casting her eyes on the clock that stood in her chamber, she continued to gaze for some time. One of the ladies in waiting asked her what she saw there more than usual? To which the Queen only answered by turning her eyes upon her with
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a dying look. She was soon after seized with a fit of the apoplexy, from which, however, she was relieved by the assistance of Doctor Mead. In this state of stupefaction she continued all night; she gave some signs of life between twelve and one next day, but expired the next morning, a little after seven o'clock, having lived forty-nine years five months and six days; and having reigned more than twelve years with honour, equity, and applause. This Princess was rather amiable than great, rather pleasing than beautiful; neither her capacity nor learning were remarkable. Like all those of her family; she seemed rather fitted for the private duties of life than for a public station; a pattern of conjugal affection, a good mother, a warm friend, and an indulgent mistress. She always expressed the greatest concern for the advancement of religion; and, with the purest zeal, promoted the design of erecting churches for that important purpose. She gave every encouragement to charity-schools, for the support of the indigent youths of London and Westminster, that the seeds of religion and virtue might be early sown in their tender minds; and even the universities, those famous seats of learning, ever found her a most indulgent patroness. She always shared in the joys and sorrows of her subjects; nor ever concealed herself from their distress. When her subjects laboured under the heavy burthen of an expensive war, she assisted them with part of her own revenue. During her reign none suffered on the scaffold for treason; so that after a long succession of faulty or cruel kings, she shines with particular lustre; and if she cannot be said to be the greatest, she was certainly one of the best sovereigns that ever sat upon the British throne. In
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her ended the line of the Stewarts; a family, the misfortunes and misconduct of which are not to be paralleled in history; a family who, less than men themselves, seemed to expect from their followers more than manhood in their defence; a family demanding rather our pity than assistance, who never rewarded their friends, nor avenged themselves of their enemies.

I am, &c.

L E T T E R VIII.

THE nearer we approach to our own times, in this survey of English history, the more important every occurrence becomes; our own interests are blended with those of the state; and the accounts of public welfare are but the transcript of private happiness. The two parties which had long divided the kingdom, under the names of Whig and Tory, now seemed to alter their titles; the Whigs being styled Hanoverians, and the Tories branded with the appellation of Jacobites. The former, desired to be governed by a King, who was a Protestant, though a foreigner; the latter, by a Monarch of their own country, though a Papist. Of two inconveniences, however, that seemed the least, where religion appeared to be in no danger; and the Hanoverians prevailed.

The Jacobites had been long flattered with the hopes of seeing the succession altered by the Earl of Oxford; but by the premature death of the Queen, all their expectations at once were blasted; the diligence and activity of the privy-council

in which the Hanoverian interest prevailed, completed their confusion, and they now found themselves without any leader to give consistency to their designs, and force to their councils. Upon recollection they saw nothing so eligible as silence and submission; they hoped much from the assistance of France, and still more from the vigour of the Pretender.

Pursuant to the act of succession, George I. son of Ernest Augustus, first Elector of Brunswick, and Sophia, grand-daughter of James I. ascended the British throne. His mature age, he being now fifty-four years old; his sagacity and experience, his numerous alliances, the general peace of Europe; all contributed to his support, and promised a peaceable and happy reign. His virtues, though not shining, were solid; he was of a very different disposition from the Stewart family, whom he succeeded: they were known to a proverb for deserting their friends in distress; George, on the contrary, soon after his arrival in England, used to say, "My maxim is never to abandon my friends; to do justice to all the world; and to fear no man." To these qualifications he joined great application to business; but generally studied more the interest of those subjects he left behind, than of these he came to govern.

The King first landed at Greenwich, where he was received by the Duke of Northumberland, and the Lords of the regency. From the landing-place he walked to his palace in the Park, accompanied by a great number of the nobility, and other persons of distinction, who had the honour to kiss his hand as they approached. When he retired to his bed-chamber, he sent for those of the nobility who had distinguished themselves by their

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zeal for his succession; but the Duke of Ormond, the Lord Chancellor, and Lord Trevor, were not of the number; Lord Oxford too, the next morning, was received with marks of disapprobation; and none but the Whig party were admitted into any share of confidence. The King of a faction is but the sovereign of half his subjects; of this, however, the Monarch I speak of did not seem sensible; it was his misfortune, as well as that of the nation, that he was hemmed round by men who soured him with all their interests and prejudices; none now but the violent in faction were admitted into employment; and the Whigs, while they pretended to secure to him the crown, were, with all possible diligence, abridging its prerogative. An instantaneous and total change was effected in all offices of honour and advantage. The Whigs governed the senate, and the court disposed of all places at pleasure; whom they would they oppressed; bound the lower orders of people with new and severe laws; and this they called liberty.

These partialities, and this oppression, soon raised discontents throughout the kingdom. The clamour of the church's being in danger was revived; jealousies were received; and dangerous tumults raised in every part of the country. The party cry was, Down with the Whigs; Sacheverel for ever. During these commotions in the Pretender's favour, this Prince himself continued only a calm spectator on the continent, now and then sending over his emissaries to inflame the disturbances, to disperse his ineffectual manifestoes, and to delude the unwary. Copies of a printed address were sent to the Dukes of Shrewsbury, Marlborough, Argyle, and other noblemen of the first distincti-

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on, vindicating the Pretender's right to the crown, and complaining of the injustice that was done him by receiving a foreigner. Yet, notwithstanding this, he continued to profess the truest regard for the Roman Catholic religion; and, instead of concealing his sentiments on that head, gloried in his principles. It was the being a Papist which had dispossessed his father of the throne; and surely the son could never hope to gain a crown by the very methods in which it was lost; but an infatuation seemed for ever to attend all of that weak and unhappy family.

However odious, at that time, the Popish superstitions were to the people in general, yet the opinions of the Dissenters seemed still more displeasing. Religion was mingled with all political disputes. The High-church party complained, that, under a Whig administration, impiety and heresy daily gained ground; that the prelates were at once negligent of religious concerns, and warm in pursuit of temporal blessings. A book written by Doctor Samuel Clarke, in favour of Socinianism, was strictly reprehended; the disputes among the Churchmen rose to such a height, that the ministry was obliged to interpose; and the clergy received orders for finishing such-like debates, and from intermeddling in affairs of state. Nothing, however, can be more impolitic in a state, than to prohibit the clergy from disputing with each other; by this means they become more animated in the cause of religion; and whichever side they defend, they become wiser and better as they carry on the cause. To silence these disputes is to lead them into negligence: if religion be not kept up by opposition, it falls to the ground, nor longer becomes an object of public concern. Government, I repeat,

peat, should never silence dispute, and should never side with either disputant.

A new parliament was now called, in which the Whigs had by far the majority; all prepossessed with the strongest aversion to the Tories, and led on by the King himself, who made no secret of his displeasure. Upon their first meeting he informed them, that the branches of the revenue granted for the support of civil government, were not sufficient for that purpose; he apprized them of the machinations of the Pretender, and intimated that he expected their assistance in punishing such as had endeavoured to deprive him of that blessing which he most valued, the affection of his people. As the houses were then disposed, this served to give them the alarm; and they outwent even the most sanguine expectations of the most vindictive ministry.

Their resentment began with arraigning lord Bolingbroke, who had just before withdrawn himself to France, of high treason, and other high crimes and misdemeanors. To this it was objected by one of the members of the house of commons, that nothing in the allegations laid to his charge amounted to high treason. To this there was no reply given; but Lord Coningsby standing up, "The chairman, said he, has impeached the hand, but I impeach the head; he has impeached the scholar, and I the master. I impeach Robert Earl of Oxford, and Earl of Mortimer, of high treason and other crimes and misdemeanors." When therefore this nobleman appeared the next day in the house of Lords, he was avoided, by his brother Peers, as infectious; he, whose favour had been but a little before so earnestly sought after, was now rejected and contemned. When the articles were read

read against him in the house of Peers, some debates arose as to the nature of his indictment, which, however, was carried by his adversaries, and the articles of impeachment approved by the house; he was therefore again impeached at the bar of the house of Lords; and a motion was made that he might lose his seat, and be committed to close custody. The Earl now seeing a furious spirit of faction raised against him, and aiming at his head, was not wanting to himself, upon this emergency, but spoke to the following purpose: “I am accused, says he, for having made a
“ peace; a peace, which, bad as it is now represented, has been approved by two successive parliaments. For my own part, I always acted by the
“ immediate directions and commands of the Queen
“ my mistress, and never offended against any
“ known law. I am justified in my own conscience,
“ and am unconcerned for the life of an insignificant old man. But I cannot, without the highest
“ ingratitude, remain unconcerned for the best of
“ Queens; obligation binds me to vindicate her
“ memory. My Lords, if ministers of state, acting by the immediate commands of their Sovereign, are afterwards to be made accountable for
“ their proceedings, it may one day or other, be
“ the case of all the members of this august assembly. I do not doubt, therefore, that, out of
“ regard to yourselves, your Lordships will give
“ me an equitable hearing; and I hope, that in the
“ prosecution of this inquiry, it will appear, that
“ I have merited not only the indulgence, but also
“ the favour of this government. My Lords, I am
“ now to take my leave of your Lordships, and of
“ this honourable house, perhaps for ever! I shall
“ lay down my life with pleasure, in a cause favour-
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“ed by my late dear royal mistress. And, when I
“consider that I am to be judged by the justice,
“honour, and virtue of my peers, I shall acquiesce,
“and retire with great content. And, my Lords,
“God’s will be done.” On his return from the
house of Lords to his own house, where he was,
for that night, permitted to go, he was followed by
a great multitude of people, crying out, High-
church, Ormond and Oxford for ever. Next day
he was brought to the bar, where he received a
copy of his articles, and was allowed a month to
prepare his answer. Though Doctor Mead declar-
ed, that if the Earl should be sent to the Tower,
his life would be in danger, it was carried that he
should be sent there, whither he was attended by
a prodigious concourse of people, who did not
scruple to exclaim against his prosecutors. Tu-
mults grew more frequent; and this only served
to increase the severity of the legislature. An act
was made, decreeing, that if any persons, to the
number of twelve, unlawfully assembled, should
continue together one hour, after being required
to disperse by a Justice of Peace, or other officer,
and heard the proclamation against riots read in
public, they should be deemed guilty of felony,
without benefit of clergy. An act of this kind
carries its own comment with it; legislators should
ever be averse to enacting such laws as leave the
greatest room for abuse.

A committee was now appointed to draw up ar-
ticles of impeachment, and prepare evidence against
him and the other impeached Lords; he was con-
fined in the Tower, and there remained for two
years; during which time, the kingdom was in a
continual ferment, several other Lords, who had
broke out into actual rebellion, and were taken
in arms, being executed for treason; the ministry
seemed

seemed weary of executions ; and he, with his usual foresight, presented, upon this occasion, a petition for coming to his trial. A day was therefore assigned him. The commons appointed a committee to inquire into the state of the Earl's impeachment, and demanded a longer time to prepare for the trial. The truth is, they had now began to relax in their former asperity ; and the intoxication of party was not quite so strong now as when he had first been committed. At the appointed time the Peers repaired to the court in Westminster-hall, where lord Cowper, presided as Lord Steward. The commons were assembled, and the King and royal family assisted at the solemnity. The prisoner was brought from the Tower, and his articles of impeachment read, with his answers and the replies of the commons. Sir Joseph Jekyl, one of the agents for the commons, standing up to enforce the first article of his Lordship's accusation, one of the Lords attending the house, observed, that much time would be consumed in going through all the articles of the impeachment ; that nothing more remained than for the commons to make good the two articles of high treason contained in his charge ; and that this would at once determine the trial. His advice was agreed to by the Lords ; but the commons delivered a paper containing their reasons for asserting it as their undoubted right to carry on the impeachment in the manner they thought most conducive to their aim. On the other hand, the House of Lords insisted on their former resolution, considering it as the privilege of every judge to hear each cause in the manner he thinks most fitting. The dispute grew still more violent ; a message was at length sent to the commons, intimating that the Lords intended

to proceed immediately to the Earl of Oxford's trial; and, soon after repairing to the Hall of Justice, they took their places. The commons, however, did not think fit to appear; and the Earl, having waited a quarter of an hour at the bar, was dismissed for want of accusers. To this dispute, perhaps, he owed his safety, though it is probable they would have acquitted him of high treason, as none of his actions could justly suffer such an imputation. With the same acrimony prosecutions were carried on against Lord Bolingbroke and the Duke of Ormond; but they had before found safety in flight.

Such vindictive proceedings as these naturally excited indignation; the people groaned to behold a few great ones close up all the avenues to royal favour, and rule the nation with rigour and partiality. In Scotland the discontent broke forth, at length into the flames of rebellion. The Earl of Mar, assembling three hundred of his own vassals, in the Highlands of Scotland, proclaimed the Pretender at Castletown, and set up his standard at Brae Mar, on the sixth day of September; then assuming the title of Lieutenant-general of the Pretender's forces, he exhorted the people to take up arms in defence of their lawful Sovereign. But these preparations were weak and ill conducted; all the designs of the rebels betrayed to the government, the beginning of every revolt repressed, the western counties prevented from rising, and the most prudent precautions taken to keep all suspected persons in custody, or in awe. The Earl of Derwentwater, and Mr. Foster, took the field near the borders of Scotland; and, being joined by some gentlemen, proclaimed the Pretender. Their first attempt was to seize upon New-
castle,

castle, in which they had many friends ; but they found the gates shut upon them, and were obliged to retire to Hexham ; while General Carpenter, having assembled a body of dragoons, resolved to attack them before their numbers were increased. The rebels had two methods of acting with success ; either marching immediately into the western parts of Scotland, and their joining General Gordon, who commanded a strong body of Highlanders ; or of crossing the Tweed, and attacking General Carpenter, whose forces did not exceed nine hundred men. From their usual infatuation neither of these schemes were put into execution ; for, taking their route another way, they left General Carpenter on one side, and resolved to penetrate into England by the western border. They accordingly advanced without either foresight or design, as far as Preston, where they first heard the news that General Wills was marching at the head of six regiments of horse, and a battalion of foot, to attack them. They now therefore began to raise barricadoes, and to put the place in a posture of defence, repulsing at first the attack of the King's army with some success. Next day, however, General Wills was reinforced by the troops under Carpenter, and the rebels were invested on all sides. Foster their General, sent Colonel Oxburgh with a trumpet to the English commander, to propose a capitulation. This, however, General Wills refused, alleging that he would not treat with rebels ; and that all they could expect was, to be spared from immediate slaughter. These were hard terms ; but they were then obliged to submit. They accordingly laid down their arms, and were put under a strong guard. The leaders were secured, and led through
London

London pinioned, and bound together, while the common men were confined at Chester and Liverpool.

While these unhappy circumstances attended the rebels in England, the Earl of Mar's forces, in the mean time, increased to the number of ten thousand men, and he had made himself master of the whole country of Fife. Against him the Duke of Argyle set out for Scotland, as commander in chief of the forces in North Britain; and, assembling some troops in Lothian, returned to Stirling with all possible expedition. The Earl of Mar, being informed of this, at first retreated; but being joined soon after by some clans under the Earl of Seaforth, and others by General Gordon, who had signalized himself in the Russian service, he resolved to march forward towards England. The Duke of Argyle, apprized of his intention, and being joined by some regiments of dragoons from Ireland, determined to give him battle in the neighbourhood of Dumblain, though his forces were by no means so numerous as those of the rebel army. In the morning therefore of the same day on which the Preston rebels had surrendered, he drew up his forces, which did not exceed three thousand five hundred men, but found himself greatly out-flanked by the enemy. The Duke therefore perceiving the enemy making attempts to surround him, was obliged to alter his disposition; which, on account of the scarcity of general officers, was not done so expeditiously as to be all formed before the rebels began the attack. The left wing therefore of the Duke's army fell in with the centre of the enemy's, and supported the first charge without shrinking. This wing even seemed, for a short time victorious, as they

they killed the chief leader of part of the rebel army. But Glengary, who was second in command, undertook to inspire his intimidated forces; and waving his bonnet, cried out several times, Revenge. This animated his men to such a degree, that they followed him close to the muzzles of the muskets, pushed aside the bayonets with their targets, and with their broad-swords did great execution. A total rout of that wing of the royal army ensued, and General Witham, their commander, flying full speed to Stirling, gave out, that all was lost. In the mean time the Duke of Argyle, who commanded in person on the right, attacked the left of the enemy, and drove them before him for two miles, though they often faced about and attempted to rally. The Duke having thus entirely broke their left, and pushed them over the river Allen, returned to the field, where he found that part of the rebel army which had been victorious; but instead of renewing the engagement, both armies continued to gaze at each other, neither caring to advance; and towards evening both sides drew off, each boasting of victory. Which ever might claim the triumph, it must be owned, that all the honour, and all the advantages of the day, belonged only to the Duke of Argyle. It was sufficient for him to have interrupted the enemies progress; a delay was to them a defeat. The Earl of Mar therefore soon found his disappointments and losses increase. The castle of Inverness, of which he was in possession was delivered up to the King by Lord Lovat, who had hitherto appeared in the interest of the Pretender. The Marquis of Tullibardine left the Earl to defend his own country; and many of the clans seeing no likelihood of coming soon to
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a second engagement, returned home; an irregular army being much easier led to battle, than induced to bear the fatigues of a campaign.

The Pretender might now be convinced of the vanity of his expectations, in imagining that the whole country would rise up in his cause; his affairs now were actually desperate; yet, with the usual infatuation of the family, he resolved to hazard his person among his friends in Scotland, at a time when such a measure was totally useless, and there was not the least probability that the utmost efforts he was capable of making, should be attended with any degree of success. Passing therefore through France in disguise, and embarking in a small vessel at Dunkirk, he arrived, on the twenty-second day of December, on the coasts of Scotland, with only six gentlemen in his retinue. Upon his arrival in Aberdeen, he was solemnly proclaimed, and soon after made his public entry into Dundee; and, in two days more, came to Scoon, where he intended to have the ceremony of his coronation performed. He ordered thanksgivings for his safe arrival, enjoined the ministers to pray for him in the churches; and, without the smallest share of power, went through all the ceremonies of royalty, which were, at such a juncture, perfectly ridiculous. After this unimportant parade, he resolved to abandon the enterprise with the same levity with which it had been undertaken, and re-embarked for France, together with the Earl of Mar, and some others, in a small ship that lay in the harbour of Montross; and, in five days, arrived at Gravelin. General Gordon, who was left commander in chief of the forces, with the assistance of the Earl-marshal, proceeded with them to Aberdeen, where he secured three vessels to sail northward, which took
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on board the persons who intended to make their escape to the continent. In this manner the rebellion was suppressed; but the fury of the victors did not seem in the least to abate with their success. The law was now put in force, with all its terrors; and the prisons of London were crowded with those deluded wretches whom the ministry shewed no disposition to spare. The commons, in their address to the crown, declared they would prosecute in the most vigorous manner the authors of the rebellion; and their resolutions were as speedy as their measures were vindictive: for it is somewhat surprising to observe, the great and unusual dispatch made by the parliament, with regard to the trial of these noblemen, who were taken prisoners on account of the rebellion: A conference was held between the two houses concerning that affair, the impeachments voted *nimino contradicente*, a committee appointed to draw up the articles; and they were actually drawn, and delivered into the house, within the compass of two hours: they were twice read, and agreed to with very few amendments, ingrossed, read a third time, passed, and carried to the house of lords the same evening, about ten o'clock. The Earls Derwentwater, Nithsdale, Carnwath, and Wintown; the Lords Widdrington, Kenmuir, and Nairn, were the next day impeached. The *Habeas corpus* act was suspended; and the rebel Lords, upon pleading guilty, received sentence of death. Nothing could soften the privy council; the house of Lords even presented an address to the throne for mercy, but without effect. Orders were dispatched for executing the Earls of Derwentwater and Nithsdale, and the viscount Kenmuir, immediately; the others were respited for three weeks longer. Nithsdale, however, escaped in woman's clothes, which

which were brought him by his mother, the night before his intended execution. Derwentwater and Kenmuir were brought to the scaffold on Tower-hill, at the hour appointed. Both underwent their sentence with calmness and intrepidity, pitied by all, seemingly less moved themselves than the spectators.

An act of parliament was also made for trying the private prisoners in London, and not in Lancashire, where they were taken in arms; which proceeding was in some measure, an alteration of the ancient constitution of the kingdom, as was a septennial bill; for it was thought necessary to prolong the time for the sitting of a parliament, which had shewn so much zeal for the interest of his majesty; this power of self-existence, which was then assumed, has never since been parted with, notwithstanding the many efforts that have been made to re-instate the constitution, and the removal of all pretences that occasioned it. Mr. Foster, Mackintosh, and several others were found guilty, colonel Oxburgh and Mr. Gascoigne were executed at Tyburn. Foster, however, escaped from Newgate, and reached the continent in safety; and some time after also Mackintosh, with some others, forced their way, having mastered the keeper and turnkey, and disarmed the centinel. The July following William Paul, a clergyman of the established Church, and John Hall, Esq; had the sentence of rebels executed on them at Tyburn, the former a great zealot in his cause, the other had been in the office of the peace. Such was the end of a rebellion, probably first inspired by the rigour of the new Whig ministry and parliament. In running through the vicissitudes of human transactions, we too often find both sides culpable: and so it was in this case. The royal

royal party acted under the influence of partiality, rigour, and prejudice, gratified private animosity under the mask of public justice; and, in their pretended love of justice, forgot humanity. On the other hand, the Pretender's party aimed not only at subverting the government, but the religion of the kingdom: bred a Papist himself, he confided only in counsellors of his own persuasion; and most of those who adhered to his cause were men of indifferent morals, or bigotted principles; but such is the propensity of the human heart to ambition, that even prospects placed on the most insufficient foundation, have charms to invite, and create hopes, that upon the least reflection, must appear delusive. Clemency, however, in the government, at that time, would probably have extinguished all the factious spirit which has hitherto disturbed the peace of this country; for it has ever been the character of the English, that they are more easily led than driven to loyalty; nor, indeed, is this a wonder, since one is the effect of reason, the other of force.

I am, &c.

LETTER IX.

IN a government, so very complicated as that of England, it must necessarily change from itself, in a revolution of even a few years, some of its weaker branches acquire strength, as its stronger decline. At this period, the rich and noble seemed to possess a greater share of power than they had done for some ages preceding; the house of commons became each day a stronger body, at once more independent on the crown and the people.

It was now seen that the rich could at any time buy their election; and that while their laws governed the poor, they might be enabled to govern the law. The rebellion was now extinguished; and the severities which justice had inflicted, excited the discontent of many, whose humane passions were awakened as their fears began to subside. This served as a pretext for continuing the parliament, and repealing the act by which they were to be dissolved at the expiration of every third year. An act of this nature, by which a parliament thus extended their own power, was thought, by many, the ready means of undermining the constitution; for if they could with impunity extend their continuance for seven years, which was the time proposed, they could also for life continue their power; but this, it was observed, was utterly incompatible with the spirit of legislation. The bill, however, passed both houses; all objections to it were considered as disaffection; and, in a short time, it received the royal sanction. The people might murmur at this encroachment; but it was now too late for redress. It is worth observing, however, that this alteration of the constitution, from triennial to septennial parliaments, is indefensible, but from the particular exigency that required it; but when that exigency ceased to exist, and the Brunswick family was so firmly seated on the throne, as to be no longer apprehensive of the attempts of a Pretender, it is somewhat surprising, that there should not be patriotism enough left in future senates, as to make them endeavour at the restoration of the constitution in this essential, this fundamental point. It was not certainly, at the time of passing this act, intended that a septennial parliament

should ever thenceforward exert in this kingdom; but when those fears of a Popish Pretender began to subside, and there was no reasonable cause of apprehension from the bigotry of the Jacobite party, every lover of his country, and true friend to liberty, hoped that triennial parliaments, those firm bulwarks of the people's freedom, would be restored. Hitherto, we have been disappointed of this great blessing; but it is ardently wished by all, and expected by not a few, that it will not be long before we are again put in possession of this privilege, so conformable to ancient usage, and so agreeable to the desires of the people in general.

Domestic concerns being now adjusted, the King began to turn his thoughts to his Hanoverian dominions, and determined upon a voyage to the continent. Nor was he without his fears for his dominions there, as Charles XII. of Sweden, professed the highest displeasure at his having entered into a confederacy against him in his absence. Having therefore passed through Holland to Hanover, in order to secure his German territories, he entered into a treaty with the Dutch and the Regent of France, by which they promised mutually to assist each other, in case of invasion; but the death of the Swedish Monarch, who was killed by a cannon ball at the siege of Frederickstadt, soon put an end to his disquietudes from that quarter. However, his Majesty, to secure himself as far as alliances could add to his safety, entered into engagements with the different powers of Europe; some were brought to accede by money, others by promises. Treaties of this kind seldom give any real security; they may be considered as mere political playthings; they amuse for a while, and then are thrown neglected by, never

ver more to be heard of, as nothing but its own internal strength or situation can guard a country from insult.

Among other treaties concluded with such intentions, was that called the *Quadruple Alliance*. It was agreed upon between the Emperor, France, England, and Holland, that the Emperor should renounce all pretensions to the crown of Spain, and exchange Sardinia for Sicily with the Duke of Savoy. That the succession to the Duchies of Tuscany, Parma, and Placentia, should be settled on the Queen of Spain's eldest son, in case the present possessors should die without male issue. This treaty was by no means favourable to the interests of England, as it interrupted the commerce with Spain; and, as it destroyed the balance of power in Italy, by throwing too much into the hands of Austria. However, England fitted out a strong squadron in order to bring Spain to terms, if that kingdom should insist upon its rights in Italy. The war between the Emperor and King of Spain was actually begun in that country; and the mediation of the King of England was rejected as partial and unjust. It was therefore resolved by the court of London to support its negotiations with the strongest reasons; namely, those of war. Sir George Byng sailed to Naples with twenty-two ships of the line, where he was received as a deliverer, that city having been under the utmost terrors of an invasion from Spain. Here the English admiral received intelligence, that the Spanish army, amounting to thirty thousand men, had landed in Sicily; wherefore he immediately determined to sail thither, fully resolved to pursue the Spanish fleet. Upon doubling Cape Faro, he perceived two small Spanish vessels,

vessels, and pursuing them closely they led him to their main fleet, which, before noon, he perceived in line of battle, amounting, in all, to twenty-seven sail. At sight of the English fleet, the Spanish fleet, though superior in numbers, attempted to sail away, as the English had, for some time, acquired such expertness in naval affairs, that no other nation would venture to face them, except with manifest advantage on their side. The Spaniards seemed distracted in their councils, and acted with extreme confusion; they made a running fight; but notwithstanding what they could do, all but three were taken. The admiral, during this engagement, acted with equal prudence and resolution; and the King wrote him a letter with his own hand, approving his conduct. This victory necessarily produced the resentment and complaints of the Spanish ministers at all the courts of Europe, which induced England to declare war with Spain; and the Regent of France joined England in a similar declaration. The Duke of Ormond, now, once more, hoped, by the assistance of Cardinal Alberoni, the Spanish minister, to restore the Pretender in England. He accordingly set sail with some troops, and proceeded as far as Cape Finisterre, where his fleet was dispersed, and disabled by a violent storm, which entirely frustrated the armament; and, from this time, the Pretender seemed to lose all hopes of being received in England. This blow of fortune, together with the bad success of the Spanish arms in Sicily and elsewhere, once more induced them to wish for peace; and the King of Spain was at last contented to sign the quadruple alliance.

King George having thus, with equal vigour and deliberation, surmounted all the obstacles he

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met with in his way to the throne, and used every precaution that sagacity could suggest, for securing himself in it, again returned to England, where the addresses from both houses were as loyal as he could expect. From addressing, they turned to an object of the greatest importance; namely, that of securing the dependency of the Irish parliament upon that of Great Britain. Maurice Annesly had appealed to the house of Peers in England, from a decree of the house of Peers in Ireland; which was reversed. The British Peers ordered the Barons of the Exchequer in Ireland, to put Mr. Annesly in possession of the lands he had lost by the decree in that kingdom. The Barons obeyed this order, and the Irish house of Peers passed a vote against them, as having attempted to diminish the just privileges of the parliament of Ireland; and, at the same time, ordered the Barons to be taken under the custody of the Black Rod. On the other hand, the house of Lords in England resolved, that the Barons of the Exchequer in Ireland had acted with courage and fidelity; and addressed the King to signify his approbation of their conduct, by some marks of his favour. To complete their intention, a bill was prepared, by which the Irish house of Lords was deprived of all rights of final jurisdiction. This was opposed in both houses. In the lower house Mr. Pitt asserted, that it would only increase the power of the English Peers, who had already too much. Mr. Hungerford demonstrated that the Irish Lords had always exerted their power of finally deciding causes. The Duke of Leeds produced fifteen reasons against the bill; but, notwithstanding all opposition, it was carried by a great majority, and received the royal assent. The kingdom of Ireland was not, at that time,

so well acquainted with the nature of liberty, and its own constitution, as it is at present. Their house of Lords might then consist mostly of men bred up in luxury and ignorance; neither spirited enough to make opposition, nor skilful enough to conduct it.

But this blow, which the Irish felt severely, was not so great as that which England now began to suffer from that spirit of avarice and chicanery which had infected almost all ranks of people. In the year 1720, John Law, a Scotchman, had erected a company in France under the name of the Mississippi; which, at first, promised the deluded people immense wealth, but too soon appeared an imposture, and left the greatest part of that nation in ruin and distress. The year following the people of England were deceived by just such another project, which is remembered by the name of the South-Sea scheme; and to this day, felt by thousands. To explain this as concisely as possible, it is to be observed, that ever since the revolution, the government, not having sufficient supplies granted by parliament; or what was granted requiring time to be collected, they were obliged to borrow money from several different companies of merchants; and, among the rest, from the company which traded to the South-Sea. In the year 1716, they were indebted to this company about nine millions and an half of money, for which they granted an annual interest, at the rate of six *per cent*. As this company was not the only one, to which the government was indebted, and paid the same interest, Sir Robert Walpole conceived a design of lessening these national debts, by giving the several companies an alternative, either of accepting a less interest; name-
ly,

ly, five *per cent.* for their money, or of being paid the principal. The different companies chose rather to accept their interest, thus diminished, than their capital; and the South-Sea company accordingly having made up their debt to the government ten millions, instead of six hundred thousand pounds which they usually received as interest, were satisfied with five hundred thousand. In the same manner the governors and company of the Bank, and other companies, were contented to receive a diminished annuity for their several loans, all which greatly lessened the national debt. It was in this situation of things that Sir John Blount, who had been bred a scrivener, and was possessed of all the cunning and plausibility requisite for such an undertaking, proposed to the ministry, in the name of the South-Sea company, to lessen the national debt still further, by permitting the South-Sea company to buy up all the debts of the different companies, and thus to become the principal creditor of the state. The terms offered the government were extremely advantageous. The South-Sea company was to redeem the debts of the nation out of the hands of the private proprietors, who were creditors to government, upon whatever terms they could agree on; and, for the interest of this money, which they had thus redeemed, and taken into their own hands, they should be allowed for six years five *per cent.* and then the interest to be reduced to four, redeemable by parliament. For these purposes a bill passed both houses; and as the directors of the South-Sea company could not of themselves alone be supposed to be possessed of money sufficient to buy up these debts of the government, they were empowered to raise it by opening a subscription, and granting annuities to
such

such proprietors as should think proper to exchange their creditors ; namely, the Crown for the South-Sea company ; with the advantages that might be made by their industry. The superior advantages with which the proprietors were flattered, by thus exchanging their property in the funds for South-Sea stock, where a chimerical prospect of having their money turned to great advantage, by a commerce to the southern parts of America, where it was reported, that the English were to have some new settlements granted them by the King of Spain. The directors books therefore were no sooner opened for the first subscription, but crowds came to make the exchange ; the delusion spread ; subscriptions in a few days sold for double the price they had been bought for. The scheme succeeded, and the whole nation was infected with a spirit of avaricious enterprize. The infatuation prevailed ; the stock increased to a surprising degree ; but after a few months, the people awaked from their delirium ; they found that all the advantages to be expected were merely imaginary ; and an infinite number of families were involved in ruin. Many of the directors whose arts had raised these vain expectations, had amassed surprising fortunes ; it was, however, one consolation to the nation, to find the parliament stripping them of their ill-acquired wealth ; and orders were given to remove all directors of the South-Sea company from their seats in the house of commons, or the places they possessed under the government. The delinquents being punished by a forfeiture of their estates, the parliament next converted its attention toward redressing the sufferers. Several useful and just resolutions were taken, and a bill was speedily prepared towards repairing the mischiefs. Of the profits arising from the
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the South-Sea scheme, the sum of seven millions was granted to the ancient proprietors; several additions also were made to their dividends out of what was possessed by the company in their own right, the remaining capital stock also was divided among all the proprietors at the rate of thirty-three, which in the year 1720 sold for 1000*l.* per cent. from that time it gradually declined, the 4th subscription for 1000*l.* cost 200*l.* which sold in the Alley for 245*l.* In the mean time petitions from all parts of the kingdom were presented to the house, demanding justice; and the whole nation seemed exasperated to the highest degree. During these transactions, the King, with serenity and wisdom presided at the helm, influenced his parliament to pursue equitable measures, and, by his councils, endeavoured to restore the credit of the nation.

The discontents occasioned by these public calamities, once more gave the disaffected expectations of accomplishing their designs. But, in all their councils they were weak, divided, and wavering. Their present intentions therefore could not escape the vigilance of the King, who had emissaries in every court, and by alliances, had interested every potentate in his favour. He was therefore soon informed, by the Duke of Orleans, Regent of France, of a new conspiracy contrived by several persons of distinction, which postponed his intended journey to Hanover. Among those against whom the most positive evidence appeared, was Mr. Christopher Layer, a young gentleman of the Middle Temple. He was convicted of having enlisted men for the Pretender's service, and received sentence of death; which he underwent, after having been often examined, and as often refused to discover his accomplices. He was the only person who suf-

ferred death upon this occasion; but several noblemen of high distinction were made prisoners upon suspicion. The Duke of Norfolk, the Bishop of Rochester, the Lord Orrery, and the Lord North and Gray were of this number. Of these all but the Bishop of Rochester came off without punishment, as the circumstances that appeared were not sufficient to convict them. However, a bill was brought into the house of commons to impeach him; and notwithstanding it met no little opposition, yet it was resolved by a great majority, that he should be deprived of his office and benefice, and banished the kingdom for ever. The Bishop made no defence in the lower house, reserving all his power to be exerted in the house of Lords. In that assembly he had many friends; his eloquence, politeness, and ingenuity had procured him many; and his cause being heard, a long and warm debate was the consequence. As there was little against him but intercepted letters, which were written in cypher, the Earl Pawlet insisted on the danger and injustice of departing, in such cases, from the fixed rules of evidence. The Duke of Wharton having summed up the depositions, and shewn the insufficiency of them, concluded with saying, That let the consequence be what they would, he hoped the lustre of that house would be never tarnished, by condemning a man without evidence. The Lord Bathurst spoke also against the bill, observing, That if such extraordinary proceedings were countenanced, he saw nothing remaining for him and others to do, but to retire to their country-houses, and there, if possible, quietly enjoy their estates within their own families,

families, since the least correspondence, or intercepted letter, might be made criminal. Then turning to the Bishops, he said he could hardly account for the inveterate hatred and malice some persons bore the ingenious Bishop of Rochester unless it was, that they were infatuated like the wild Americans, who fondly believe they inherit, not only the spoils, but even the abilities of any man they kill. The Earl of Strafford spoke on the same side; as also Lord Trevor, who observed, That if men were in this unprecedented manner, proceeded against, without legal proof, in a short time the minister's favour would be the subject's only protection; but that for himself, no apprehension of what he might suffer, should deter him from doing his duty. He was answered by Lord Seafield, who endeavoured to shew, that the evidence which had been produced before them was sufficient to convince any reasonable man; and, in this, he was supported by the Duke of Argyle and Lord Lechmere. To these Lord Cowper replied, That the strongest argument urged in behalf of the bill, was necessity; but, for his part he could see nothing that could justify such unprecedented, and such dangerous proceedings. The other party, however, said little in answer; perhaps already sensible of a majority in their favour. The bill was passed against the Bishop, and several Lords entered their protest. Among the members of the house of commons, who had exerted themselves most strenuously in the Bishop's favour, was Doctor Friend; the celebrated physician; and he was now taken into custody on suspicion of treasonable practices. He was soon after,

ter, however, admitted to bail; his friend Dr. Mead becoming his security. In two days after the Bishop of Rochester embarked for banishment, accompanied with his daughter; and, on the same day that he landed at Calais, the famous Lord Bolingbroke arrived there, in his return to England, having obtained his Majesty's pardon. Upon which the Bishop smiling, said, *His Lordship and I are exchanged.* In this manner the Bishop continued in exile and poverty till he died; though it may not be improper to observe, that Doctor Sacheverel, left him, by will, five hundred pounds.

Few transactions of importance happened during the remainder of this reign: the ministry were engaged in making various and expensive negotiations, alliances, and treaties; covenants that are made without faith, and, only observed from motives of interest or fear. The parliament made also some efforts to check the progress of vice and immorality, which now began to be diffused through every rank of life; luxury and profligacy had increased to a surprising degree; nor were there any transactions to fill the page of history, except the mercenary schemes of vile projectors, or the tasteless profusion of new-made opulence. The treaties lately concluded with Spain were again broken, perhaps by every party; admiral Hosier was sent to intercept the Spanish galleons from America; of which the Spaniards being apprized, remanded back their treasure; and the greatest part of the English fleet, sent on this errand, was rendered, by the worms, entirely unfit for service; and the men were cut off by the unhealthy climate and long voyage.

To retaliate this, the Spaniards undertook the siege of Gibraltar, and with similar success. New treaties were set on foot; France offered its mediation; and such a reconciliation as treaties could procure was the consequence.

The King had not now, for two years, visited his German dominions; and therefore soon after the breaking up of parliament he prepared for a journey to Hanover. Accordingly, having appointed an administration in his absence, he embarked for Holland; lay, upon his landing, at the little town of Vert; next day proceeded on his journey; and, in two days more, between ten and eleven at night, arrived at Delden, in all appearance in perfect health. He supped there very heartily, and continued his progress early the next morning. Between eight and nine he ordered the coach to stop, and, it being perceived that one of his hands lay motionless, monsieur Fabrice, who had formerly been the servant of the King of Sweden, and now attended King George, chafed it between his. As this had no effect, the surgeon was called, who followed on horseback, and also rubbed it with spirits; soon after the King's tongue began to swell, and he had just force enough to bid them hasten to Osnabrugh; and falling into Fabrice's arms, quite insensible, never recovered, but expired about eleven o'clock the next morning. He died on Sunday the eleventh of June, in the sixty-eighth year of his age, and in the thirteenth of his reign.

George I. was plain and simple in his person and address; grave and composed in his deportment, though easy, familiar, and facetious in his hours of relaxation. Before he ascended the throne

throne of Great Britain, he had acquired the character of a circumspect general, a just and merciful Prince, and a wise politician, who perfectly understood, and steadily pursued his own interest. With these qualities, it cannot be doubted but that he came to England extremely well disposed to govern his new subjects according to the maxims of the British constitution, and the genius of his people; though we must confess, that what was observed of the character of William III. whose predilection for the Dutch made him the less regard and love his own immediate subjects; is equally applicable to George, who, in his whole conduct, and his frequent journeys to Hanover, attended with such a heavy loss, and so considerable an expence to the nation, made it evident, that he preferred their interests to those of his English subjects.

He was almost ever attended with good fortune, which was partly owing to prudence, and more to assiduity. Whatever was good or great in the reign of George I. ought to be attributed wholly to himself; and whenever he deviated, it might justly be imputed to a ministry always partial, and often corrupt. In short, his successes are the strongest instance of how much may be achieved by moderate abilities; exerted with application and uniformity.

I am, &c.

LETTER

L E T T E R X.

I HAVE not hitherto said any thing of the literature of the present period, having resolved to refer it to a separate letter, in which we may have a more conspicuous view of it, than if blended with the ordinary occurrences of the state. Tho' learning had never received fewer encouragements than in the present reign, yet it never flourished more. The spirit of philosophy which had been excited in former ages, still continued to operate with the greatest success, and produced the greatest men in every profession. Among the divines, Atterbury and Clarke distinguished themselves. As a preacher, Atterbury united all the graces of style with all the elegance of a just delivery; he was natural, polite, spirited; and his sermons may be ranked among the first of this period. Clarke, on the other hand, despising the graces of eloquence, only sought after conviction, with rigorous, though phlegmatic exactness, and brought moral truths almost to mathematical precision. Yet neither he, Cudworth, nor any other divine, did such service to the reasoning world, as the great Mr. John Locke, who may be justly said to have reformed all our modes of thinking in metaphysical inquiry. Though the jargon of schools had been before him arraigned, yet several of their errors had still subsisted, and were regarded as true. Locke, therefore, set himself to overturn their systems, and refute their absurdities; these he effectually accomplished; for which reason his book, when published, was of infinite service; it may indeed, be found less useful at present, when the doctrines

trines it was calculated to refute, are no longer subsisting.

Among the moral writers of this period, the Earl of Shaftesbury is not to be passed over, whose elegance, in some measure, recompenses for his want of solidity. The opinions of all latter writers upon moral subjects, are only derived from the ancients. Morals are a subject on which the industry of men have been exercised in every age; and an infinite number of systems have been the result. That of Shaftesbury, in which he establishes a natural sense of moral beauty, was originally professed by Plato, and only adorned by the English philosopher. This seemed to be the age of speculation. Berkeley, afterwards bishop of Cloyne in Ireland, surpassed all his cotemporaries, in subtlety of disquisition; but the mere efforts of reason, which are exerted rather to raise doubt than procure certainty, will never meet with much favour from so vain a being as man. Lord Bolingbroke had also some reputation for metaphysical inquiry; his friends extolled his sagacity on that head; and the public were willing enough to acquiesce in their opinion; his fame, therefore, might have continued to rise, or, at least, would never have sunk, if he had never published. His works have appeared, and the public are no longer in their former sentiments. In mathematics and natural philosophy, the vein opened by Newton, was prosecuted with success. This great man, the ornament of humanity, whose amazing genius seemed to carry him far above this mortal sphere, and to explore the secrets of another world; surpassed all his cotemporaries in a high reach of thought; and conveying with perspicuity and precision, those sublime discoveries, which
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he alone was capable of attaining. Dr. Halley illustrated the theory of the tides, and increased the catalogue of the stars; while Gregory reduced astronomy to one comprehensive and regular system. Doctor Friend, in medicine, produced some ingenious theories, which, if they did not improve the art, at least shewed his abilities and learning in his profession. Dr. Mead was equally elegant, and more successful; to him is owing the useful improvement of tapping in the dropsy, at once by means of a swathe. But, of all the other parts, poetry in this age was carried to the greatest perfection. The language, for some ages, had been improving, but now it seemed intirely divested of its roughness and barbarity. Among the poets of this period, we may place John Philips, author of several poems, but of none more admired than that humorous one, intitled, *The splendid Shilling*; he lived in obscurity, and died just above want. William Congreve deserves also particular notice; his comedies, some of which were but coolly received upon their first appearance, seemed to mend upon repetition; and, he is, at present, justly allowed the foremost in that species of dramatic poesy. His wit is ever just and brilliant; his sentiments new and lively; and his elegance equal to his regularity. Next him Vanbrugh is placed, whose humour seems more natural, and characters more new; but he owes too many obligations to the French, entirely to pass for an original; and his total disregard to decency, in a great measure, impairs his merit. Farquhar is still more lively, and, perhaps, more entertaining than either; his pieces still continue the favourite performances of the stage, and bear frequent repetition without satiety; but he often mistakes pertness for wit, and
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seldom draws his characters with proper force or originality. However, he died very young; and it is remarkable, that he continued to improve as he grew older; his last play, intitl'd, *The Beaux Stratagem*, being the best of his productions. Addison, both as a poet and prose writer, deserves the highest regard and imitation. His Campaign, and Letter to Lord Halifax from Italy, are master-pieces of the former, and his Essays published in the Spectator, are inimitable specimens of the latter. Whatever he treated of, was handled with elegance and precision; and that virtue which was taught in his writings, was enforced by his example. Steele was Addison's friend and admirer; his comedies are perfectly polite, chaste, and genteel; nor were his other works contemptible; he wrote on several subjects, and yet it is amazing, in the multiplicity of his pursuits, how he found leisure for the discussion of any: ever persecuted by creditors, whom his profuseness drew upon him, or pursuing impracticable schemes, suggested by ill-grounded ambition. Dean Swift was the professed antagonist of both Addison and him. He perceived that there was a spirit of romance mixed with all the works of the poets who preceded him; or, in other words, that they had drawn nature on the most pleasing side. There still, therefore, was a place left for him, who, careless of censure, should describe it just as it was, with all its deformities; he therefore owes much of his fame, not so much to the greatness of his genius, as to the boldness of it. He was dry, farcastic, and severe; and suited his style exactly to the turn of his thought, being concise and nervous, and more correct than that of any of his contemporaries, Addison excepted. In this period also flourished many of
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subordinate fame. Prior was the first who adopted the French elegant, easy manner of telling a story; but if what he has borrowed from that nation be taken from him, scarce any thing will be left, upon which he can lay claim to applause in poetry. Rowe was only outdone by Shakespear and Otway, as a tragic writer; he has fewer absurdities than either; and is, perhaps, as pathetic as they; but his flights are not so bold, nor his characters so strongly marked. Perhaps his coming later than the rest may have contributed to lessen the esteem he deserves. Garth had success as a poet; and, for a time, his fame was even greater than his desert. In his principal work, the *Dispensary*, his versification is negligent; and his plot is now become tedious; but whatever he may lose as a poet, it would be improper to rob him of the merit he deserves for having written the prose dedication and preface to the poem already mentioned; in which he has shewn the truest wit, with the most refined elegance. Parnel, though he has written but one poem, namely, the *Hermit*, yet has found a place among the English first-rate poets. Gay, likewise, by his *Fables* and *Pastorals*, has acquired an equal reputation. But of all who have added to the stock of English poetry, Pope, perhaps, deserves the first place. On him foreigners look as one of the most successful writers of his time; his versification is the most harmonious, and his correctness the most remarkable of all our poets. A noted cotemporary of his own, calls the English the finest writers on moral topics, and Pope the noblest writer of all the English. Mr. Pope has somewhere named himself the last English Muse; and, indeed, since his time, we have seen scarce any production that can justly lay claim to immor-

immortality; he carried the language to its highest perfection; and those who have attempted still farther to improve it, instead of ornament, have only caught finery.

Such was the learning of this period; it flourished without encouragement, and the English taste seemed to diffuse itself over all Europe. The French tragedies began to be written after the model of ours; our philosophy was adopted by all who pretended to reason for themselves. At present, however, when the learned of Europe are turned to the English writers for instruction, all spirit of learning has ceased amongst us. So little has been got by literature for more than an age, that none chuse to turn to it for preferment. Church preferments, which were formerly given as the rewards of learning, have, for some time, deviated to the intriguing, venal, and base. All desire of novelty, in thinking, is suppressed amongst us; and our scholars, more pleased with security and ease than honour, coolly follow the reasonings of their predecessors, and walk round the circle of former discovery.

I am, &c.

LETTER XI.

UPON the death of George I. his son George II. ascended the throne, of inferior abilities to the late King; and consequently still more strongly attached to his dominions on the continent. The various subsidies that had been in the last reign granted, to maintain foreign connexions, were still kept up in this, and the late system of politics

litics underwent no sort of alteration. The rights and privileges of the throne of England were, in general, committed to the minister's care; the royal concern being chiefly fixed upon balancing the German powers, and gaining an ascendancy for the Elector of Hanover in the Empire. The ministry was, at first, divided between Lord Townshend, a man of extensive knowledge; the Earl of Chesterfield, the only man of genius employed under this government; and Sir Robert Walpole, who soon after engrossed the greatest share of the administration to himself.

Sir Robert Walpole, who is to make the principal figure in the present reign, had, from a low beginning, raised himself to the head of the Treasury. Strongly attached to the house of Hanover, and serving it at times, when it wanted his assistance, he still maintained the prejudices with which he set out; and, unaware of the alteration of sentiments in the nation, still attempted to govern by party. He, probably, like every other minister, began by endeavouring to serve his country; but, meeting with strong opposition, his succeeding endeavours were rather employed in maintaining his post, than of being serviceable in it. The declining prerogative of the crown might have been an early object of his attention; but, in the sequel, those very measures which he took to increase it, proved to be the most effectual means of undermining it. As latterly all his aims were only to serve himself and his friends, he undertook to gain a majority in the house of commons, by bribing the members; and what was still worse, avowed the corruption, and with an unparalleled indiscretion, which at once evinced both the venality of his own heart, and the weakness

ness of his head, frequently asserted, in his common conversation, that there was no man living but what might be bought and sold, and that every one had his price. As all the spirit of integrity was now laughed out of the kingdom; and as the people were held to duty by no motives of religious obedience to the throne, patriotism was ridiculed, and venality practised without shame. As such a disposition of things naturally produced opposition, Sir Robert was possessed of a most phlegmatic insensibility to bear reproach, and a calm dispassionate way of reasoning upon such topics as he desired to enforce. His discourse was fluent, without eloquence; and his reasons convincing, without any share of elevation.

The house of commons, which, in the preceding reign, had been distinguished into Whigs and Jacobites, now underwent another change, and was again divided into the Court and Country party. The Court party were for favouring all the schemes of the ministry, and applauding all the measures of the crown. They regarded foreign alliances as conducive to internal security; and paid the troops of other countries for their promises of future assistance. Of these, Sir Robert was the leader; and such as he could not convince by his eloquence, he took care to buy over by places and pensions. The other side, who called themselves the Country party, were entirely averse to continental connexions; they complained that immense sums were lavished on subsidies, which could never be useful; and that alliances were bought with money, which should be only rewarded by a reciprocation of good intentions. These looked upon the frequent journies of the King to his Electoral dominions with a jealous eye, and sometimes hinted at
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the alienation of the royal affections from England. Most of these had been strong assertors of the Protestant succession; and not fearing the reproach of Jacobitism, they spoke with still greater boldness. As the Court party generally threatened the house of Commons with imaginary dangers to the state; so these of the Country usually declaimed against the incroachments of the prerogative. The threats of neither were founded in truth; the kingdom was in no danger from abroad; nor was internal liberty in the least infringed by the crown. On the contrary, those who viewed the state with an unprejudiced eye, were of opinion, that the prerogatives of the crown were the only part of the constitution that was growing every day weaker; that while the King's thoughts were turned to foreign concerns, the ministry were unmindful of his authority at home; and that every day the government was making hasty steps to an aristocracy, the worst of all governments. As Walpole headed the Court party, so the leaders of the opposite side were Mr. William Pitt, Mr. Shippen, Sir William Wyndham, and Mr. Hungerford; four gentlemen of great talents, and strict integrity.

The first of these patriots, Mr. William Pitt, now began to be greatly taken notice of, for his invincible attachment to the interest of his country, and for the amazing force and extent of understanding he displayed in the senate. His eloquence rolled on with the rapidity of a torrent, disdaining opposition, and bearing all before it. It flashed conviction on the minds of his hearers, and fell like a thunderbolt on the heads of the guilty. The minister dreaded so powerful an antagonist, whose piercing eye discerned all his wicked

ed artifices, and whose intrepid, independent spirit, that would have done honour to an ancient Spartan or a Roman, while Sparta and Rome continued free, dragged all his corrupt machinations from their foul lurking places, into the fair face of day. Sir Robert sought to take off from the force of his adversary's rhetoric, by commenting on his oratory, and observing, that a pompous phraseology, and theatrical gesture, tended little to the investigation of truth: and that the heat and vehemence of a declamatory youth were but ill calculated to convince an audience, who were to be swayed by cool, dispassionate argument alone. Mr. Pitt replied, he would not undertake to determine, whether youth could justly be objected to any one as a reproach; but he insisted on it, that the wretch who was grown grey in iniquity, who receded from virtue in proportion as he wanted temptation, who had seen the melancholy consequences of his reiterated blunders, and who still persisted, with his eyes open, in forging chains for his country, deserved no excuse, and was worthy the detestation of every honest man.—In general, this gentleman's arguments were unanswerable; for he did not, like many others, oppose the minister out of any personal dislike, or for the sake of opposition, but because the minister's conduct was truly reprehensible, as being calculated for the destruction of his country, and to the sapping of all religious and moral obligations. Sir Robert would fain have been quit of so formidable an adversary, and so troublesome a censor: but he was soon convinced, that he was so unlike the general herd of those amphibious kind of beings, the pseudo-patriots, who roar for liberty and their country in public, while they

they are secretly courting slavery and a pension, that no offers, how tempting soever, could prevail on him to desert his country, or shake his integrity. The many services of this great and upright man were rewarded with a peerage in 1766; and though it has been customary for the Peer to differ greatly in sentiment and conduct from the Commoner, yet the Earl of Chatham now is, what Mr. Pitt ever was; the firm friend of liberty, and the real lover of his country.

The great objects of controversy during this reign, were the national debt, and the number of forces to be kept in pay. The government, at the accession of the present Monarch, owed more than thirty millions of money; and, though it was a time of profound peace, yet this sum was continually found to increase. To pay off this debt, the ministry proposed many projects, and put some into execution; but, what could be expected from a set of men who made the public wealth only subservient to their private interest, and who grew powerful on the wreck of their country? Demands for new supplies were made every session of parliament, either for the purposes of securing friends upon the continent, of guarding the internal polity, or for enabling the ministry to act vigorously in conjunction with their allies abroad. These were as regularly opposed as made; the speakers of the country party ever insisted, that the English had no business to embroil themselves with the affairs of the continent; that expences were incurred without prudence or necessity; and that the increase of the national debt, by multiplying taxes, would, at length, become intolerable to the people. Whatever reason there might be in such arguments, they were, notwithstanding, constantly

over-ruled ; and every demand granted with pleasure and profusion.

All these treaties and alliances, however, in which the kingdom had been lately involved, seemed no way productive of the public tranquillity expected from them. The Spaniards, who had never been thoroughly reconciled, still continued their depredations, and plundered the English merchants upon the southern coasts of America, as if they had been pirates. This was the reign of negotiations : and, from these alone, the ministry promised themselves and the nation redress. Still, however, the enemy went on to insult and seize, regardless of our vain expostulations. The British merchants complained, by petition, of the losses they sustained by the Spaniards ; and the house of commons deliberated upon this subject. They examined the evidence, and presented an address to his Majesty. He promised them all possible satisfaction, and negotiations were begun as formerly. And a new treaty was signed at Vienna between the Emperor and the Kings of Great Britain and Spain, tending to confirm the former. Though such transactions did not give the security that was expected from them, yet they, in some measure, put off the troubles of Europe for a time. An interval of peace succeeded, in which scarce any events happened, that deserve the remembrance of an historian ; such intervals are, however, the periods of happiness to a people ; for history is too often but the register of human calamities. By this treaty at Vienna, the King of England conceived hopes, that the peace of Europe was established upon the most lasting foundation. Don Carlos, upon the death of the Duke of Parma, was, by the assistance of an English fleet, put in peace-
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able possession of Parma and Placentia. Six thousand Spaniards were quietly admitted, and quartered in the Duchy of Tuscany, to secure for him the reversion of that Dukedom. Thus we see Europe in some measure, resembling a republic, putting Monarchs into new kingdoms, and depriving others of their succession by an universal concurrence. But this amicable disposition among the great powers, can never continue long; and the republic of Europe will be but an empty name, until there be some controuling power set up by universal consent, to enforce obedience to the law of nations.

During this interval of profound peace, nothing remarkable happened, except the constant disputations in the house of commons, where the contests between the Court and Country party were carried on with the greatest acrimony; the speeches, on the other side, being dictated less by reason than resentment. A calm, uninterested reader, is now surprised at the heat with which many subjects, of little importance in themselves, were discussed at that time; he now smiles at those denunciations of ruin with which their orations are replete. The truth is, the liberty of a nation is better supported by such an opposition, than by what is said in the opposition; for it has been observed, that they are as salutary to the constitution as gusts of wind are for properly agitating, and keeping in a purified state, the air we breathe.

In times of profound tranquillity, the slightest occurrences become objects of universal attention. A society of men, intitled, *The Charitable Corporation*, excited the indignation of the public. Their professed intention was, to lend money at legal interest to the poor, upon small pledges; and

to persons of better rank, upon proper security. Their capital was at first limited to thirty thousand pounds; but they afterwards increased it to six hundred thousand. This money was granted in by subscription; and the care of conducting the capital was intrusted to a proper number of directors. This company, having continued for more than twenty years, the cashier, George Robinson, and the ware-house keeper of the company, disappeared in one day. Five hundred thousand pounds of the capital appeared to be sunk, and embezzled by the directors, in a manner the proprietors could not account for. They therefore petitioned the house, representing the manner in which they had been defrauded of such vast sums of money, and the distress to which many were reduced, in consequence of such imposition. The petition was received, and a secret committee appointed to inquire into the grievance. They soon discovered a most iniquitous scene of fraud, which had been carried on by Thompson and Robinson, in concert with some of the directors, for embezzling the capital, and cheating the proprietors. Many persons of rank and quality were concerned in this infamous conspiracy; some of the first characters in the nation did not escape without censure. The house of Commons declared their resentment, and expelled one or two of their members; but the sufferers met with scarce any redress. Nor can I mention such a circumstance without reflecting on that spirit of rapacity and avarice which infected every degree of people. An ill example in the governing part of a country ever diffuses itself downward; and, while the ministry do not blush at detection, the people of every rank will not fear guilt. About this time, not less than
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five members of parliament were expelled for the most sordid acts of knavery; Sir Robert Sutton, Sir Archibald Grant, and George Robinson, for their frauds in the management of the *Charitable Corporation* scheme; Dennis Bond, Esquire, and Serjeant Burch, for a fraudulent sale of the late Earl of Derwentwater's forfeited estates. Luxury had produced prodigality, the sure parent of every meanness. It was even asserted in the house of Lords, that not one shilling of the forfeited estates was ever applied to the service of the public; but became the reward of avarice and venality.

Another occurrence of a more private nature, about this time, excited public compassion, not without a degree of horror: Richard Smith, a book-binder, and his wife, had long lived together, and struggled with those wants, which, notwithstanding the profusion of the rich at this time, oppressed the poor. Their mutual tenderness for each other, was the only comfort they had in their distresses, which distresses were increased by having a child, which they knew not how to maintain. At length, they took the desperate resolution of dying by their own hands; the child's throat was cut, and the husband and wife were found hanging in their bed-chamber. They left a letter behind, containing the reasons which induced them to this act of desperation; they declared, that they could no longer support a life of such complicated wretchedness; and thought it tenderness to take their child with them, from a world, where they themselves had found no compassion. Suicide, in many instances, is ascribed to phrenzy: we have here an instance of self-murder, concerted with composure, and borrowing the aids of reason for its vindication.

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L E T T E R XII.

THE History of England has little, during this interval, to excite curiosity. The debates in parliament grew every day more obstinate, as every subject happened to come round in voting the annual supplies. But as the subjects were mostly the same, so also were the arguments. There was one, however, of a different nature from those in the usual course of business, which was laboured for strenuously by the ministry, and as warmly opposed by their antagonists, namely, the Excise bill, which Sir Robert Walpole introduced into the house, by first declaiming against the frauds practised by the factors in London, who were employed by the American planters in selling their tobacco. To prevent these frauds he proposed, instead of having the customs levied in the usual manner upon tobacco, that what was imported should be lodged in warehouses appointed for that purpose by the officers of the crown; from thence to be sold, after paying the duty of fourpence *per* pound, when the proprietor found a market for it. This proposal raised a violent ferment, not less in the house than without doors. Those who opposed the scheme, asserted, that this scheme would expose the factors to such hardships, that they would not be able to continue the trade, nor would it prevent the frauds complained of. They asserted, that it would produce an additional swarm of excise officers and warehouse-keepers, which would at once render the ministry formidable, and the people dependant. Arguments, however, were not what the ministry most dreaded;
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for the people had been raised into such a ferment, that all the avenues to the house were crowded with complaining multitudes; and Sir Robert Walpole even began to fear for his life. The ministry carried the proposal in the house; but, observing the tumult of the people, they thought fit to drop the design. The miscarriage of the bill was celebrated by public rejoicings in London and Westminster; and the minister was burnt in effigy by the populace.

This success, in the members of the opposition, encouraged them to go on to a proposal for repealing an act made in the last reign, by which the house of commons was to be septennial. They proposed that parliaments should again be made triennial, as had been settled at the revolution. In the course of this debate, in which they were opposed, as usual, by the ministry, they reflected, with great severity, on the measures of the late reign. They asserted, that the septennial act was an encroachment on the rights of the people; that during the continuance of that parliament, several severe laws had been enacted; that by one of these a man might be removed, and tried in any place where the jury might be favourable to the crown, and where the prisoners witnesses could not, or dare not, to come. That, by another, a justice of the peace was empowered to put the best subjects to immediate death only, after reading a proclamation against riots. The South-Sea scheme, they said, was established by an act of a septennial parliament; and the Excise bill had like, under their influence also, to have passed into a law. Sir William Wyndham distinguished himself in this debate: *Let us suppose*, said he, *a man without*
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any sense of honour raised to be a chief minister of state. Suppose him possessed of great wealth; the plunder of the nation. Suppose him screened by a corrupt majority of his creatures, and insulting over all men of family, sense, and honour, in the nation. Let us suppose a venal parliament, and an ignorant King; I hope such a case will never occur; but should such ever happen to be at once united, a short parliament will be the only means of lessening the evil. Notwithstanding these expostulations, the ministry were, as usual victorious, and the motion suppressed by the majority. The country party now found themselves out-numbered upon every occasion; they had long complained, in vain, that debate was useless, since every member seemed to have enlisted himself under the banners of party, to which he held without shrinking. Despairing therefore of being able to stem the torrent of corruption, they retired to their seats in the country, and left the ministry an undisputed majority in the house.

The minister being now left without opposition in the house, took this opportunity to render his rivals odious or contemptible, by getting several useful laws passed in their absence; while the King laboured, with equal assiduity, to adjust the political scale of Europe; and, for this purpose, made several journies to his Electoral dominions. But his assiduity in healing foreign differences did not prevent one of a more domestic nature; for a misunderstanding arose between him and the Prince of Wales; a Prince that was the darling of the people, and who professed his dislike both of the ministry and their venal measures. He had been, a short time before, married to the Princess of Saxegotha; and the Prince's mistaking a message from
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the King, at a time when the Princess was lying-in, first caused the rupture. It was soon after widened by the vile emissaries of the court, so that his Majesty forbade the Prince his presence; and gave orders that none of his attendants should be admitted to court. A motion, however, was made in the house of commons, for increasing the Prince's settlement, which was but fifty thousand pounds, to an hundred thousand. It was represented that so much had been granted by the late King, to his present Majesty, when Prince of Wales; and that such a settlement, was conformable to the practice of former times, and necessary to the independency of the heir apparent to the English crown. This motion was vigorously opposed by Sir Robert Walpole, as an encroachment on the prerogative, and an officious intermeddling in the King's family affairs. The supporters of the motion observed that the allowance of fifty thousand pounds was not sufficient to defray the Prince's yearly expences, which by his Majesty's own regulation, amounted to sixty-three thousand. The motion, however, met the fate of all other anti-ministerial measures, being rejected by the majority.

But whatever imaginary disappointments the people might suffer, there was a blow levelled at the little wit that was left remaining, which has in a great measure banished all taste from the stage, and from which it has never since fully recovered. When Walpole entered into power, he resolved to despise that set of under-rate writers, who live by arraigning every ministry, and disseminate scandal and abuse. For a time he prosecuted that intention; but at last, found it necessary to employ a set of mean hirelings, to answer calumny with calumny. He wanted judgment to distinguish ge-

nus; or none possessed of such a gift were mean enough to applaud his measures. From hence he took an implacable aversion to the press, which so severely exposed his corruption, and branded his follies. But the press alone was not the only scourge he had to fear; the theatre joined all its ridicule, and he saw himself exposed as the object of scorn, as well as hatred. When license once transgresses the rules of decency, it knows no bounds. Some of the pieces exhibited at that time were not only severe, but immoral also. This was what the minister objected to; he brought in a bill to limit the number of play-houses; to subject all dramatic writing to the inspection of the Lord Chamberlain, whose license was to be obtained before any work could appear. Among those who undertook to oppose this bill, was the Earl of Chesterfield, who observed that the laws already in being for keeping the stage within due bounds, were every way sufficient. *If, says he, our stage-players at any time exceed those bounds, they ought to be prosecuted, and may be punished. A new law therefore is, in the present instance, unnecessary; and every unnecessary law is dangerous. Wit, my Lords,* continued he, *is the property of those that have it; and it is too often the only property they have. It is unjust, therefore, to rob a man at any rate of his possessions; but it is cruelty to spoil him, if already poor. If poets and players are to be restrained, let them be restrained like other subjects; let them be tried by their Peers, and let not a Lord Chamberlain be made the sovereign judge of wit. A power lodged in the hands of a single man to determine, without limitation or appeal, is a privilege unknown to our laws, and inconsistent with our constitution.* The house

house applauded his wit and eloquence; but the question was carried against him.

The discontents occasioned by such proceedings at home, were still more encreased by the depredations of the Spaniards. They disputed the right of the English to cut logwood in the Bay of Campeachy in America; a right which had been often acknowledged, but never clearly explained, in all former treaties between the two kingdoms. Their *Guarda Costas* plundered the English merchants with impunity; and, upon the least resistance, behaved with insolence, cruelty, and rapine. The subjects of Britain were buried in the mines of Potosi, deprived of all means of conveying their complaints to their protectors, and their vessels confiscated, in defiance of justice. The English court made frequent remonstrances to that of Madrid, of this outrageous violation of treaties, and they received for answer only promises of enquiry, which produced no reformation. Our merchants loudly complained of these outrages; but the minister expected, from negotiation, that redress which could only be obtained by arms. He knew that a war would encrease the difficulties he had to encounter; and he was sensible that those he already encountered required all his art and industry to remove. A war, he was sensible, would require expences which he wished to share in peace. In short, all his measures now were not to serve the state, but to preserve his power. Influenced by these considerations, he industriously endeavoured to avoid a rupture. The fears he discovered only served to encrease the enemies insolence and pride. However, the complaints of the English merchants were loud enough to reach the house of commons; their letters and memorials were produced,

duced, and their grievances enforced at the bar by council. The house, at length, agreed to an address, to intreat his Majesty to obtain effectual relief, and to convince Spain that its indignities would be no longer borne with impunity. These complaints produced a convention between the two crowns, concluded at Prado, importing, that two plenipotentiaries should meet at Madrid, to regulate the respective pretensions of either kingdom, respecting the trade in America, and the limits of Florida and Carolina. These conferences were to be finished in eight months; and, in the mean time, all hostile preparations should cease on either side. His Catholic Majesty agreed to pay the King of Great Britain ninety-five thousand pounds, to satisfy the demands of the British subjects upon the crown of Spain, after deducting from the whole the demands of the crown and subjects of Spain upon that of Britain. Such an agreement as this was justly regarded on the side of the British ministry as a base desertion of the honour and interests of their country. And when the house of commons came to take the convention under consideration, it produced the warmest debate. All the adherents to the Prince of Wales had joined in the opposition. It was alleged, that the Spaniards, instead of granting a redress, had rather extorted a release for their former conduct. That they still asserted their former right to searching English ships, and had not so much as mentioned the word *satisfaction* in all the treaty. Notwithstanding all the remonstrances against this treaty, the majority of the house declared in its favour; and several members of the opposite sentiment retired from parliament, having despaired of being longer serviceable

viceable in a place where party, and not reason, prevailed.

As Spain had engaged to pay a large sum of money by this convention, some time after, when the minister demanded a supply, upon a different occasion, Lord Bathurst moved to know, whether Spain had paid the sums stipulated, as the time limited for the payment was expired. The Duke of Newcastle, by his Majesty's permission, acquainted the house, that it was not paid; and that Spain had assigned no reason for the delay. In some measure, therefore, to atone for his former slowness, the minister now began to put the nation into a condition for war. Letters of reprisal were granted against the Spaniards. These preparations were regarded by the Spanish court as actual hostilities. The French ambassador at the Hague declared, that the King his master was obliged, by treaty, to assist the King of Spain; he dissuaded the Dutch from espousing the cause of England; who promised him an inviolable neutrality. It is as curious as it is extraordinary to consider the revolutions which the political system of Europe had undergone. But about twenty years before, France and England were combined against Spain; at present, France and Spain united against England. Those statesmen, who build upon alliances as a lasting basis of power, will, at length, find themselves fatally mistaken.

A rupture between Great Britain and Spain being now become inevitable, the people who had long clamoured for war, began to feel uncommon alacrity at its approach; and the ministry finding it unavoidable, began to be earnest in preparation. Orders were issued for augmenting the land forces, and raising a body of marines. Two rich Spanish prizes

prizes were taken in the Mediterranean, and war declared against them in form. Admiral Vernon was sent to the West-Indies, commander of the fleet, in order to distress the Spaniards in that part of the globe. Vernon was a rough, and honest soldier, untainted with the corruption or the effeminacy of the times. He had, in the house of commons, asserted, that Porto-Bello, a fort and harbour in South America, might be easily taken, and that he himself would undertake to reduce it with six ships only. A project which appeared so wild and impossible, was ridiculed by the ministry; but, as he still insisted upon the proposal, they were pleased in complying with his request. This would at once rid them of a troublesome antagonist in the house; and, in case of his failure, there would be a new cause of triumph in his disgrace. In this, however, they were disappointed. The admiral, with six ships only, attacked and demolished all the fortifications of the place, and came away victorious, almost without bloodshed. This dawning of success upon the British arms induced the house of commons to enter vigorously into the King's measures for carrying on the war. They enabled him to equip a very powerful navy; they voted a subsidy to the King of Denmark, and empowered their Sovereign to defray some other expences, not specified in the estimates; the whole of their grants amounting to about four millions. The war was carried on with vigour, and the debates in the house of commons became less violent. In a nation, like England, of arts, arms, and commerce, war, at certain intervals of time, must ever be serviceable. It turns the current of wealth from the industrious to the enterprising. Thus, all orders of mankind find encouragement,
and

and the nation becomes composed of individuals, who have skill to acquire property, and courage to defend it.

I am, &c.

L E T T E R XIII.

A War between England and Spain was sufficient to communicate disturbances over all the globe. Countries that were formerly too obscure to be known, were now visited by our fleets, one ship of which was capable of destroying all the naval power of an Asiatic empire. A Squadron of ships commanded by Commodore Anson was equipped, in order to sail through the Streights of Magellan into the South Sea, and to act against the enemy on the coasts of Chili and Peru. This fleet was to co-operate occasionally with Admiral Vernon across the Isthmus of Darien; but the delays and blunders of the ministry frustrated this scheme, though originally well planned. However, though too late in the season, the Commodore set forward with five ships of the line, a frigate, and two store-ships, supplied with provisions and other merchandise, designed to carry on a trade with the savage inhabitants of that part of the world, or to conciliate their affections. The number of men amounted in all, to about fourteen hundred, including two hundred invalids taken from the hospitals, and two hundred new raised recruits. This whole expedition is a fine instance of the power of perseverance in forcing fortune. The Commodore steered his course by the island of Madeira,

Madeira, proceeded to the Cape de Verd Islands, and sailed along the coasts of Brazil. He refreshed for some time at the island of St. Catharine, in twenty-seven degrees of southern latitude; a spot that enjoys all the verdure and fruitage of those luxurious climates. From this place he steered still on into the cold and tempestuous climates of the south, along the coast of Patagonia; and, in about five months, entered the famous Straights of Magellan. After having suffered the most violent tempest, he doubled Cape Horn; the rest of his fleet were dispersed or wrecked; his own ship with difficulty arrived on the Island of Juan Fernandez. In this delicious abode he remained for some time, where nature seemed, in some measure, to console mankind for the calamities their avarice and ambition brought on them. In order to improve still farther a retreat of such elegance, he ordered several European seeds and fruits to be sown upon the island, which increased to such a surprising degree, that some Spaniards, who, several years after, landed there, found their produce in plenty, and could not avoid acknowledging this act of generosity and benevolence. Here the Commodore was joined by one ship more of his fleet, and by the Tryal frigate of seven guns. Advancing now northward, towards the tropic of Capricorn, he attacked the city of Payta by night. In this bold attempt he made no use of his ships, nor even landed all his men. A few soldiers landed by night, and filled the whole town with terror and confusion. The governor of the garrison, and the inhabitants, fled on all sides; accustomed to cruelty over a conquered enemy themselves, they expected a similitude of treatment. In the mean time, for three days, a small number

ber of English kept possession of the town, and stripped it of all its treasures and merchandise, to an immense amount. Such of the negroes as had not fled were made use of in carrying the goods of their former masters on board the English shipping; and the Spaniards refusing to treat soon saw their town all in flames. This, however, was but a small punishment for all the cruelties which they had practised in taking possession of that country; upon its first inhabitants. The plunder of this place served to enrich the captors; and the ravage made among them, by the scurvy, still increased the share of every survivor. This small squadron now came up as far as Panama, situated on the Streights of Darien. Thus they came upon the western side of the great American continent; and Admiral Vernon was expected to succeed on the opposite side nearer home. Thus the Spanish Empire was attacked on both sides; but the scheme failed from Vernon's want of success.

Anson, who now only commanded two ships, the remainder having either put back to England, or, being wrecked by the tempests, bounded all his hopes to the taking one of those rich Spanish ships, which trade between the Philippine islands, near the coast of China and Mexico, on the Spanish main. But one or two, at the most, of these vessels passed from one continent to the other in a year. The ships are made immensely strong, large, and carry great quantities of treasure and merchandise. The Commodore therefore, and his little fleet, traversed that great ocean lying between the Asiatic and American continent, in hopes of meeting this rich prize, which it was hoped would, at this time of the year, return from the East, and
amply

amply repay the adventurers for all their dangers and fatigues. Avarice thus became honourable when pursued through peril and distress. But the scurvy once more visited his mariners, now long kept at sea, without fresh provisions. This disorder, though it takes the same name, is very different from that on land. The sea scurvy is attended with an universal putrefaction, the teeth loosen, old wounds that had been healed, again open, and sometimes the limbs are seen to drop off at the joints. By this terrible disorder several of his men daily fell, and others were disabled. One of his ships becoming leaky, and the number of his hands decreasing, he thought proper to set it on fire in the midst of the ocean. His fleet now being reduced only to one ship, called the *Centurion*, of sixty guns, and all the crew in the most deplorable situation, he cast anchor on the deserted island of Tinian, which lies about half way between the old and new world. This island had some years before been peopled by near thirty thousand inhabitants, but an epidemical distemper coming among them, destroyed a part; and the rest forsook the place. Nothing however, could exceed the beauty of this spot. The most romantic imagination cannot form a scene surpassing what Tinian naturally afforded; greens, groves, cascades, fields, flowers, and prospects. This retreat saved the English squadron. All that a sea-beaten company of mariners could wish, they found here in great abundance; clear and wholesome water, medicinal herbs, domestic animals, and other necessaries for refitting their shattered vessel. Thus refreshed, he went forward towards China, passed by the kingdom of Formosa, and went up the river Canton in order to careen the
only

only ship that now was left him. Being thus far on his way homeward, nothing can better testify the hardy and untameable spirit of the English, than his venturing once more back into the same ocean where he had experienced such a variety of distress. The Commodore having put his vessel into good order, by the assistance of the Chinese, and having taken Dutch and Indian sailors on board, he again returned towards America. At length, on the 9th of June, he discovered the galleon he so ardently expected. This vessel was formed as well for the purposes of war as of merchandize. It mounted sixty guns and five hundred men, while the crew of the Commodore did not exceed half that number. The engagement soon began; but as those who attack have always the advantage of those who defend, and as the English are more expert in naval affairs than any other nation; the Spanish ship soon became the Centurion's prize. There were but a few men killed on the side of the English, while the Spaniards lost near seventy. The conqueror now returned to Canton once more with his prize. He there maintained the honour of his country, in refusing to pay the imposts which were laid upon ordinary merchants; and insisted that an English ship of war was exempted from such a duty. From Canton he proceeded to the *Cape of Good Hope*, and prosecuted his voyage to England, where he arrived in safety, with immense riches. His last prize was valued at three hundred and thirteen thousand pounds sterling; and the different captures that had been made before this last piece of good fortune, might amount to as much more. Upon his return, Commodore Anson received all that honour which prudence and perseverance

verance deserve. He soon became the oracle consulted in all naval deliberations; the King afterwards raised him to the dignity of the peerage; and he was made first Lord of the Admiralty.

I am, &c.

L E T T E R XIV.

THE expedition of Anson took up near three years. The English, in the mean time, carried on their operations against Spain with vigour, and various success. When Anson set out, it was only to act a subordinate part to a formidable armament, designed for the coasts of New Spain, consisting of twenty-nine ships of the line, and almost an equal number of frigates, furnished with all kinds of warlike stores, near fifteen thousand seamen, and twelve thousand land forces. Never was a fleet more completely equipped, and never had the nation more sanguine hopes of victory. Lord Cathcart commanded the land forces; but, dying on the passage, the command devolved upon General Wentworth, whose chief merit was his favour with those in power. This, with several other unfortunate circumstances, concurred to frustrate the hopes of the public. The ministry, without any visible reason, had detained the fleet in England until the season for acting was almost over. In the country where they were to carry on their operations, periodical rains began about the end of April; and this change in the atmosphere is always attended with epidemical distempers. They, at length, however, set sail for the

conti-

continent of New Spain; and, after some tempests, and delays, arrived before Carthagena. This city, which lies within sixty miles of Panama, serves as the magazine for the Spanish merchandize, which is brought from Europe thither, and from thence transported, by land, to Panama, lying on the opposite coast. The taking of Carthagena therefore would interrupt the whole trade between Old Spain and the New. The troops were landed on the island of Terra Bomba, near the mouth of the harbour, known by the name of the Bocca Chica, which was fortified with all the arts of engineering. The British forces erected a battery on shore, with which they made a breach in the principal fort, while the Admiral sent in a number of ships to divide the fire of the enemy; and to co-operate with the endeavours of the army. The breach being deemed practicable, the forces advanced to the attack; but the Spaniards deserted the forts; which, had they courage, they might still have defended with success. The troops, upon this success, were brought nearer the city, where they found a greater opposition than they had expected. The climate killed numbers of the men; and a dissention which arose between the land and naval officers, retarded all the operations. Stimulated by mutual recriminations, the general ordered his troops to attack the fort of St. Lazar; but the guides being slain, the troops mistook their way, and attacked the strongest part of the fortification, where, after suffering incredible slaughter, with the most serene intrepidity, they were, at length, obliged to retire. Bad provisions, a horrid climate, and an epidemical fever, continued to thin their numbers, so as to deprive them of all hopes of success. It was determined therefore

fore to reembark the troops, and to conduct them; as soon as possible, from this scene of slaughter and contagion. The fortifications and harbour were demolished; and the fleet returned to Jamaica. This fatal miscarriage, which tarnished the British arms, was no sooner known in England, than the kingdom was filled with murmurs and discontent; a measure which, if it had succeeded, would have crowned the promoters of it with honour, now only served to cover them with reproach. The greatest part of this discontent fell upon the minister; his former conduct, which justly deserved censure, was not so powerfully objected against him, as this failure, for which he stood highly criminal, not only in the unnecessary delays, that deprived the army of the season for action, which in these climes is of more value than double their force; for however numerous, it only affords the greater number of individuals to be sacrificed, and lost to their country; also in not appointing officers suitable to the command, and willing to forward their country's cause, for however, the first in command (had he lived) might have answered the expectations of the people, the other but depressed them; who seemed to co-operate with the intentions of the minister, who chose to heap upon them the calamities of a war, they forced him to undertake, and which he found difficult to support, consistent with the plan of his government, corruption. Such are the complicated crimes bad ministers have to answer for. Besides, the activity of the enemy, in distressing the trade of England contributed to increase the murmurs of the people. Their privateers were so numerous and successful, that in the beginning of this year they had taken, since the commencement

ment of the war, four hundred and seven ships, belonging to the subjects of Great Britain. The English, though at immense expence in equipping fleets, seemed tamely to lie down under every blow, and suffered one loss after another without reprisal. This general discontent had a manifest influence upon the election of members for the new parliament. All the adherents of the Prince of Wales, who now lived as a private gentleman, retired from the court, concurred in the opposition to the ministry. Obstinate struggles were maintained in all parts of the kingdom; and such a national spirit of opposition prevailed, that the Country interest seemed, at length, to preponderate in the house of commons. It was soon seen that the interest of the minister was in the wane, and that opinion, once established, began to deprive him even of those who had determined to act with neutrality. *In proclinantes*, as Ovid says, *omne recumbit onus*.

Sir Robert now tottered on the brink of ruin. He was sensible that nothing but a division in the opposition could give him safety. The Prince was his most formidable rival; a Prince revered by the whole nation, for his humanity, benevolence, and candour. These were only private virtues; but these were all he had then a liberty of exercising. The minister's first attempt was, to endeavour taking him from the party; a message therefore was carried to his royal highness by the Bishop of Oxford, importing, that if the Prince would write a letter to the King, he and all his counsellors should be taken into favour, fifty thousand pounds should be added to his revenue, two hundred thousand given him to pay his debts, and suitable provision should be made, in due time, for all his followers.

This,

This, to a Prince already involved in debt, from the necessity of keeping up his dignity, was a tempting offer; but his royal highness generously disdained it, declaring he would accept no such conditions which were dictated to him under the influence of Sir Robert Walpole. The minister now therefore saw that no arts could dissolve the combination against him; he resolved, as an expiring struggle, to try his strength once more in the house of commons upon a disputed election; but he had the mortification to see the majority still increased against him by sixteen voices. He then declared he would never sit in that house more. The parliament was adjourned the next day, and Sir Robert being created Earl of Orford, resigned all his employments. Never was a joy more universal and sincere than this resignation produced. The people now flattered themselves that all their domestic grievances would find redress; that their commerce would be protected abroad; that the war would be carried on with vigour; and that the house of commons would be unanimous in every measure. But they were disappointed in most of their expectations. The misconduct of a minister is more likely to affect his successor than himself, as a weak reign ever produces a feeble succession. The house of commons had been for a long time increasing in power, and Walpole, with all his arts, was, in fact, rather weakening than extending the prerogative. By his method of bribing opposition he had taught the venal to oppose him; and by his increasing the national debt, he weakened the vigour of the crown in war, and made it more dependant upon parliament in times of peace. A part of those who succeeded him were therefore sensible of this, and still resolved to support the crown.

crown, which they regarded as the only declining branch of the constitution. Another part, who clamoured from motives of self-interest, having now attained the object of their desires, blundered on in the former measures, studious of fortune and not of fame. In short, his successors pursuing all the former schemes of the deposed minister, presented the political part of the nation with the mortifying prospect of pretended patriotism unstripped of its mask, and shewed the little certainty there is in all political reasonings.

I am, &c.

LETTER XV.

THE war with Spain had now continued for several years, with but indifferent success. Some unsuccessful expeditions were carried on in the West-Indies under Admiral Vernon, Commodore Knowles, and others; and these were all aggravated by a set of worthless and mercenary *things*, called *Political Writers*. A class of beings first employed against Walpole, and afterwards encouraged by him, at the expence, as it is said, of not less than thirty thousand a year. These were men naturally too dull to shine in any of the politer kinds of literature, which might adorn either a scholar or a gentleman, and therefore they turned their thoughts to politics; a science on which they might declaim without knowledge, and be dull without detection. These men had, for some time, embarrassed the constitution, inflamed the people, and were paid large pensions

from the crown. It was upon this occasion that they exaggerated every misconduct, and drew frightful pictures of the distress and misery which they foreboded to posterity. This clamour, and want of success in a naval war, in which the principal strength of the kingdom lay, induced the new ministry to divert the attention of the public to a war, which might be carried on by land. The King's attachment to his Electoral dominions contributed still more to turn the current of British indignation that way, and an army was therefore now prepared to be sent into Flanders; the war with Spain being become an object of secondary consideration.

To have a clear, yet concise, idea of the origin of the troubles on the continent, it will be expedient to go back, for some years, and trace the measures of the European republic to that period where we formerly left them. After the Duke of Orleans, who had been Regent of France, died, Cardinal Fleury undertook to settle that confusion in which the former had left the kingdom. His moderation was equal to his prudence; he was sincere, frugal, modest, and simple. Under him France repaired her losses, and enriched herself by commerce; he only left the state to its own natural methods of thriving, and saw it daily assuming its former health and vigour. During the long interval of peace, which his councils had procured for Europe, two powers, unregarded, now began to attract the notice, and the jealousy of their neighbouring states. Peter the Great had already civilized Russia, and this new extensive empire began to influence the councils of other Princes, and to give laws to the North. The other power was that of Prussia, whose dominions were compact and

and populous, and whose forces were well maintained, and ready for action. The Empire continued under Charles VI. who had been placed upon the throne by the treaty of Utrecht. Sweden languished, being not yet recovered from the destructive projects of Charles XII. Denmark was powerful; and part of Italy subject to the masters which had been imposed upon it by foreign treaties. All, however, continued to enjoy a profound peace, till the death of Augustus, King of Poland, again kindled up the general flame. The Emperor Charles VI. assisted by the arms of Russia, declared for the Elector of Saxony, son to the deceased King. On the other hand, France declared for Stanislaus, who had been long since elected King of Poland by Charles XII. and whose daughter had been since married to the French King. Stanislaus repaired to Dantzick in order to support his election; ten thousand Russians appearing, the Polish nobility dispersed, and their new elected Monarch was shut up, and besieged by so small a number of forces: the city was taken, and the King escaped with the utmost difficulty, from being made a prisoner, and fifteen hundred Frenchmen that were sent to his assistance were made prisoners of war. He had now no hopes left but in the assistance of France, which accordingly resolved to give him powerful succours, by distressing the house of Austria. The views of France were seconded by Spain and Sardinia; both hoped to grow more powerful by a division of the spoils of Austria; and France had motives of alliance and revenge. A French army therefore soon over-ran the empire under the conduct of old Marshal Villars; the Duke of Montemar, the Spanish general, was equally victorious in the kingdom of Na-

ples; and the Emperor, Charles VI. had the mortification of seeing himself deprived of the greatest part of Italy, for having attempted to give a King to Poland. These rapid successes of France and its allies soon compelled the Emperor to demand a peace. By this treaty Stanislaus, upon whose account the war was undertaken, was obliged to renounce all right to the throne of Poland; and France made some valuable acquisitions of dominion; particularly the Duchy of Lorrain. In the year 1740, the death of the Emperor gave the French another opportunity of exerting their ambition. Regardless of treaties, particularly the pragmatic sanction, as it was called, which settled upon the daughter of the Emperor the reversion of all his dominions, they caused the Elector of Bavaria to be crowned Emperor. Thus the daughter of Charles VI. descended from an illustrious line of Emperors, saw herself stripped of her inheritance, and, for a whole year, without hopes of succour. She had scarce closed her father's eyes, when she lost Silesia, by an irruption of the young King of Prussia, who seized the opportunity of her defenceless state, to renew his ancient pretensions to that province of which it must be owned his ancestors had been unjustly deprived. France, Saxony, and Bavaria, attacked the rest of her dominions. In this forlorn situation she found a powerful ally in Britain; Sardinia and Holland soon after came to her assistance; and, last of all, Russia joined in her cause. It may be demanded, What part Britain had in these continental measures? The interests of Hanover; the security and aggrandizement of that Electorate, depended upon the proper regulation of the empire. Lord Carteret had now taken that place in the royal confidence which

had

had formerly been possessed by Walpole; and, by pursuing these measures he soothed the wishes of his master, and opened a more extensive field for his own ambition. He expected honour from victories which could produce no good; and campaigns, whether successful or not, that could only terminate in misfortune. When the parliament met, his Majesty informed them of his strict adherence to his engagements, though attacked in his own dominions; and that he had augmented the British forces in the Low Countries with sixteen thousand Hanoverians. When the supplies came to be considered, by which this additional number of troops was to be paid, it raised violent debates in both houses. It was considered as hiring the troops of the Electorate to fight their own cause. The ministry, however, who were formerly remarkable for declaiming against continental measures, now boldly stood up for them; and, at length, by dint of number, carried their cause. The people saw, with pain, their former defenders sacrificing the blood and treasure of the nation upon destructive alliances; they knew not now on whom to rely for safety; and began to think that patriotism was but an empty name. However injurious these measures might have been to the nation, they were of infinite service to the Queen of Hungary. She began, at this period, to triumph over all her enemies. The French were driven out of Bohemia. Her general, Prince Charles, at the head of a large army, invaded the dominions of Bavaria. Her rival, the nominal Emperor, was obliged to fly before her; abandoned by his allies, and stripped of all his dominions, he repaired to Francfort, where he lived in indigence and obscurity. He agreed to remain neuter during

ing the remainder of the war; while the French, who first began it as allies, supported the burthen. The troops sent by England to the Queen's assistance were commanded by the Earl of Stair, an experienced commander, who had learned the art of war under the famous Prince Eugene; and the chief object he had first in view was, to effect a junction with the army commanded by Prince Charles of Lorrain. The French, in order to prevent this junction, assembled sixty thousand men upon the river Mayne, under the command of Marshal Noailles, who posted his troops upon the east side of that river. The British forces, to the number of forty thousand, pushed forward on the other side, while the French, in the mean time, found means to cut off all the communications by which they could be supplied with provisions. The King of England arrived at the camp while the army was in this situation; and seeing it in danger of starving, resolved to proceed forward, to join twelve thousand Hanoverians and Hessians, who had reached Hanau. With this view he decamped; but before the army had marched three leagues, he found the enemy had inclosed him on every side, near a village called Dettingen. In this situation he must have fought at great disadvantage, if he began the attack; and if he continued in the same situation, his army must have perished for want of subsistence. The impetuosity of the French, however, saved the English army; they passed a defile which they should have guarded; and, under the conduct of the Duke of Gramont, their horse charged with great impetuosity. They were received by the English infantry with undaunted resolution; the French were obliged to give way, and to pass the Mayne with great precipitation; with

with the loss of about five thousand. The King, who was possessed of personal courage, which seems hereditary to the family, exposed himself to a severe fire of cannon, as well as musquetry; and, in the midst of the ranks encouraged his troops, by his presence and example. The whole of the battle, on either side, exhibited more courage than conduct. The English had the honour of the day; but the French soon after took possession of the field of battle, treating the wounded English that were left behind with a clemency unprecedented in ancient history, and that serves to shew how much superior the present times are in point of humanity to the boasted ages of antiquity. Though the English were victorious upon this occasion, yet the Earl of Stair, who commanded, did not assume any honour from such a victory; he was unwilling that his reputation should suffer for measures, which he was not allowed to conduct; he therefore solicited, and obtained leave to resign; and the British troops desisted from further operations that campaign.

Mean while the French went on with vigour on every quarter; they opposed Prince Charles of Lorraine, and interrupted his progress in his attempts to pass the Rhine; gained some successes in Italy; but their chief expectations were placed in a projected invasion of England. Cardinal Fleury was now dead, and Cardinal Tencin succeeded to his place, a person of a very different character from his predecessor, being proud, turbulent, and enterprising. France, from the violence of parliamentary disputes in England, had been long persuaded that the country was ripe for a revolution; and only wanted the presence of the Pretender to induce the majority to declare against the reigning family.

family. Several needy adventurers, who wished for a change; some men of broken fortunes, and many of the Roman Catholics of the kingdom, endeavoured to confirm the court of France in these sentiments. An invasion, therefore, was actually projected. Charles, son of the old Chevalier St. George, departed from Rome in the disguise of a Spanish courier, and prosecuting his journey to Paris, had an audience of the French King. The troops designed for this expedition amounted to fifteen thousand; preparations were made for embarking them at Dunkirk, and some other of the nearest ports to England, under the eye of the young Pretender; and seven thousand of the number actually went on board. The Duke de Roquefuille, with twenty ships of the line, was to see them safely landed in England; and Count Saxe was to command them, when put ashore. The whole project, however, was disconcerted by the appearance of Sir John Norris, with a superior fleet, making up against them; the French fleet was obliged to put back; a very hard gale of wind damaged their transports beyond redress. All hopes of invasion were now frustrated; and, at length, the French thought fit openly to declare war.

But, though fortune seemed to favour England on this occasion, yet, on others, she was not equally propitious. The combined fleets of France and Spain, for some time, fought the British armament under Admiral Matthews and Lestock, though with inferior forces, and came off upon nearly equal terms. Such a parity of success in England was regarded as a defeat. Both the English Admirals were tried by a court-martial; Matthews, who had fought the enemy with intrepidity, was declared incapable of serving for the future in his Majesty's

Majesty's navy. Lestock, who had kept aloof, was acquitted with honour, for he had intrenched himself within the punctilios of discipline; he barely did his duty; a man of honour, when his country is at stake, should do more; but such is the power of ministerial influence, whose baneful breath corrupts the fair fountain of honour, distributing laurels where they cannot prosper, depriving for a while Britain's sons of the glory they merited; but this she will secure to them in the records of time, when prejudice is no more, and we see not as through a glass darkly. Well might the good old King observe, he did not understand that maxims of discipline, which acquitted the soldier that did not fight on the day of trial, forsaking his superior; and condemning him that did. Ministerial sophistry!

The proceedings in the Netherlands were still more unfavourable. The French had assembled a formidable army of one hundred and twenty thousand men; the chief command of which was given to Count Saxe. This General was originally a soldier of fortune, and natural son to Augustus King of Poland, by the famous Countess of Konigsmark. He had been bred from his youth in camps, and had shewn the most early instances of cool intrepidity. He, in the beginning of the war, had offered his service to several crowns, and, among the rest, it is said, to that of England; but his offers were rejected. He was possessed of great military talents; and, by long habit, preserved an equal composure in the midst of battle, as in a drawing-room at court. On the other side the allied forces, consisting of English, Hanoverians, Dutch and Austrians, did not amount to above seventy thousand. These were

incapable of withstanding such a superior force, and commanded by such a General. The French besieged and took Fribourg, before they went into winter quarters; and early the next campaign, invested the city of Tournay. The allies were resolved to prevent the loss of this city by a battle. Their army was inferior, and commanded by the Duke of Cumberland. Notwithstanding these disadvantages they marched towards the enemy, and took post in sight of the French army, which was encamped on an eminence; the village of Antoine on the right, a wood on their left, and the town of Fontenoy before them. This advantageous situation did not repress the ardour of the English; on the thirtieth day of April the Duke of Cumberland marched to the attack at two o'clock in the morning. The British infantry pierced forward, bore down all opposition, and, for near an hour, were victorious. Marshal Saxe was at the same time sick of the same disorder of which he afterwards died. He visited all the posts in a litter, and saw, notwithstanding all appearances, that the day was his own. The English column, without command, by a mere mechanical courage, had advanced upon the enemy's lines, which formed an avenue on each side to receive them. The French artillery began to play upon this forlorn body; and, though they continued a long time unshaken, they were obliged to retreat about three o'clock in the afternoon. This was one of the most bloody battles that had been fought in this age; the allies leaving upon the field near twelve thousand slain. The victory cost the French almost an equal number of lives; and although the attack was generally judged rash and precipitate, the British and Hanoverian troops fought with

with such intrepidity and perseverance, that if they had been powerfully sustained by the Dutch forces, and their flanks covered by the cavalry, the French, in all likelihood, would have been obliged to abandon the enterprize. The Duke of Cumberland never had so great a conflict with glory and humanity, and for some time seemed forgetful of the attention that was necessary to be taken of his person, as he pressed forward in the most dangerous charges, until remonstrated to. He desired no other than to share the danger with his troops, and, when retreating, seemed more inclined to leave himself in the field than survive; and a while after, when the regiments passed him, he was not able to keep his place, but turned aside, feeling in himself a concern not to be expressed.

This blow, by which Tournay was taken, gave the French a manifest superiority all the rest of the campaign, and which they did not neglect to improve during the continuance of the war. The Emperor, Charles VII. who had been raised to the throne from the Dukedom of Bavaria, and for whom the war first began, was now dead; yet this did not in the least restore tranquillity to Europe. The Grand Duke of Tuscany, husband to the Queen of Hungary, was declared Emperor upon his decease; but the war between France and the allies still continued; and the original views and interests seemed now quite forgotten.

I am, &c.

LETTER

L E T T E R XVI.

THE intended French invasion had roused all the attention of the English ministry ; and nothing but loyalty breathed throughout the whole kingdom. The administration of affairs being committed to the Earl of Harrington, the Earl of Chesterfield, and others, who enjoyed a great share of popularity, the views of the crown were no longer thwarted by an opposition in parliament.

In the mean time, Admiral Rowley, who succeeded Matthews as commander of the fleet in the Mediterranean, carried on his operations with great spirit and success. He bombarded Savona, Genoa, Final, St. Remo, and Bastia, the capital of Corsica ; took several Spanish ships, but could not prevent the galleons from arriving safe at Corruna. In the East-Indies, Commodore Barnett took several French ships richly laden ; and Commodore Townshend, cruising near Martinico, made himself master of thirty merchant ships, under convoy of four men of war, two of which he destroyed. Success also attended the English privateers, which took many valuable prizes. But what crowned the success of this year was, the conquest of Louisburg, a town situated on the island of Cape Breton, fortified at a prodigious expence, and often called the Dunkirk of North America. It was a place of the greatest importance to France, being the centre and defence of their fishery. The plan for taking this fortress was laid in Boston, recommended by their assembly, and approved of by his Majesty, who sent instructions to Commodore Warren to sail to Boston,

ton, and assist the forces of New England in this expedition. Mr. Pepperel, a merchant of Piscataway, of very extensive influence in that country, though utterly unacquainted with military operations, was placed at the head of the American army, which consisted of six thousand men. Mr. Warren arrived at Canso, with ten ships of war, in the month of April, and the troops being embarked in a few days after his arrival, on board transports provided for that purpose, the whole fleet sailed for the island of Cape Breton, where they landed without opposition. The enemy, who did not expect a visit of this kind, abandoned their grand battery, which was at some distance from the town; and the New England forces, by seizing this work, greatly facilitated the success of the enterprize. The Commodore so effectually blocked up the place by sea, that no succours could be introduced, while the American forces, assisted by eight hundred marines, carried on the approaches by land. The operations of the siege were wholly conducted by the engineers and officers of the British marines; the Americans, being totally ignorant of these operations, were contented to act according to their directions. On the 17th of June, the town being considerably damaged by the bombs and bullets of the besiegers; the Governor thought proper to capitulate, by which Louisburg, and the whole island of Cape Breton, were surrendered to his Britannic Majesty. A few days after the surrender of this place, two French ships from the East-Indies, and a third from Peru, not knowing of Louisburg's being in the hands of the English, sailed thither for protection, and were taken by the English squadron.

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During these transactions, a new scene engaged the attention of the English ministry. Young Charles Edward the son of the old Pretender, resolved to make an effort at gaining the British crown. He had been bred in a luxurious court, without sharing its effeminacy; he was enterprising and ambitious; but, either from inexperience, or natural inability, utterly unequal to the undertaking. He was flattered by the rash, the superstitious, and the needy, that the kingdom was ripe for a revolt; that the people could no longer bear the immense load of taxes, which was daily increasing; and that the most considerable persons in the kingdom would gladly seize the opportunity of crowding to his standard. Such were the pretences made to this desperate adventurer, which nothing but the madness of enthusiastic zeal could have projected, and the fury of wild ambition undertake to execute. Being furnished with some money, and still larger promises from France, who fanned this ambition in him, from which they hoped to derive some advantages; he embarked for Scotland on board a small frigate, accompanied by the Marquis of Tullibardine, Sir Thomas Sheridan, and a few other rash adventurers. For the conquest of the whole British empire he brought with him seven officers, and arms for two thousand men. Fortune, which ever persecuted his family, seemed no way more favourable to him; his convoy, a ship of sixty guns, was so disabled in an engagement with an English man of war called the *Lion*, that it returned to Brest, while he was obliged to continue his course to the western parts of Scotland; and, landing on the coast of Lochaber, he was, in a little time, joined by some chiefs of the Highland Clans, and their

their vassals. These chiefs had ever continued to exercise an hereditary jurisdiction over all their tenants. This power of life and death vested in the Lords of the manor, was a privilege of the old feudal law, long abolished in England, but which had been confirmed to the Scotch lairds at the time of the union. From hence we see, that a chief had the power of commanding all his vassals, and that immediate death was the consequence of their disobeying. By means of these chiefs, therefore, he soon saw himself at the head of fifteen hundred men; and invited others to join him by his manifestoes, which were dispersed throughout all the Highlands.

The boldness of this enterprize astonished all Europe; it awakened the fears of the pusillanimous, the pity of the wise, and the loyalty of all. The whole kingdom seemed unanimously bent upon opposing the enterprize, which they were sensible, as being supported only by Papists, would be instrumental in restoring Popery. The ministry was no sooner confirmed of the truth of his arrival, which, at first, they could scarcely be induced to believe, than Sir John Cope was ordered to oppose his progress. In the mean time, the young adventurer marched to Perth, where the unnecessary ceremony was performed of proclaiming the Chevalier de St. George, his father, King of Great Britain. The rebel army, descending from the mountains, seemed to gather as it went. They advanced towards Edinburgh, which they entered without opposition. Here, too, the pageantry of proclamation was performed, in which he promised to dissolve the union, and redress the grievances of the country. But, though he was master of the capital, yet the citadel, which goes
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by the name of the *Castle*, a strong fortress built upon a rock, and commanded by General Gueff, braved all his attempts. In the mean time, Sir John Cope, who had pursued them to the Highlands, but declined meeting them in their descent, now reinforced by two regiments of dragoons, resolved to march towards Edinburgh, and give them battle. The young adventurer, unwilling to give him time to retreat, attacked him near Prestonpans, about twelve miles from the capital, and, in a few minutes, put him and his troops totally to the rout. Five hundred of the King's troops fell on the field of battle; among whom was Colonel Gardiner, who disdained to save his life at the expence of his honour. When abandoned by his own regiment of dragoons, he alighted from his horse, and fought among the infantry, until he fell, covered with wounds. This gentleman was justly esteemed for his courage and conduct as a soldier, for his integrity and wisdom as a man. He had ever borne a most amiable character, and his untimely fall was most justly regretted, not only by his surviving friends and relations, but by the nation in general, who were not ignorant of the great loss they had sustained in the death of so gallant and worthy a man. This victory gave the rebels great influence; and, had the Pretender taken advantage of the general consternation, and marched towards England, the consequence might have been dangerous to the safety of the state; but he spent the time at Edinburgh, seeming to enjoy the useless parade of royalty, pleased at being addressed and treated as a King. By this time, he was joined by the Earl of Kilmarnock, the Lords Elcho, Balmerino, Ogilvy, Pittligo, and the eldest son of the Lord Lovat. This Lord Lovat

Lovat was the same whom we have seen, upon a former occasion, trusted by the old Pretender, and betraying him by taking possession of the castle of Stirling for King George. This nobleman, true to neither party, had again altered from his attachment to the house of Hanover, and, in secret aided the young Chevalier: studious only for his own interest, he exerted all the arts of low cunning, to appear an open enemy to the rebellion; yet to give it secret assistance.

While the young Pretender thus trifled away his time in Edinburgh, (for all delays in dangerous enterprizes are even worse than defeats) the ministry of Great Britain took every possible measure to defeat his intentions. Six thousand Dutch troops that had come over to the assistance of the crown, were sent northward, under the command of General Wade; but, as it was then said, these could lend no assistance, as they were, properly speaking, prisoners of France, and upon their parole not to oppose that power for one year. However this be, the Duke of Cumberland soon after arrived from Flanders, and was followed by another detachment of dragoons and infantry; volunteers in different parts of the kingdom employed themselves in the exercise of arms; and every county exerted a generous spirit of indignation, both against the ambition, the religion, and the allies of the young adventurer.

It would be illiberal and base to deny this enterprising youth that praise which his merit may deserve. Though he might have brought civil war, and all the calamities attending it, with him, into the kingdom, yet we must consider, that he had ever been taught, that bathing his country in blood, was but a just assertion of his right; that altering

tering the constitution, and, perhaps, the religion, of his supposed dominions, was a laudable object of ambition. Thus inspired, he went forward with vigour, and resolving to make an irruption into England, he entered it by the western border, on the sixth day of November. Carlisle was invested, and, in less than three days, it surrendered. Here he found a considerable quantity of arms, and was declared King of Great Britain. General Wade being apprized of his progress, advanced across the country from the opposite shore; but, receiving intelligence that the enemy was two days march before him, he retired to his former station. The young Pretender now resolved to proceed, having received assurances from France, that a considerable body of troops would be landed on the southern coast of Britain, to make a diversion in his favour; and, flattered with the hopes of being joined by a numerous body of the disaffected English, as soon as he should make his appearance among them. Leaving, therefore, a small garrison in Carlisle, which he should rather have left defenceless, he advanced to Penrith, marching on foot in an Highland garb, and continued his irruption through Lancaster and Preston, till he came to Manchester, where he established his head-quarters. He was here joined by about two hundred Englishmen, who were formed into a regiment, under the command of Colonel Townley. From hence he prosecuted his route to Derby, intending to go by the way of Chester into Wales, where he hoped for a great number of adherents. He was, by this time, advanced within an hundred miles of the capital, which was filled with terror and confusion. The King resolved to take the field in person. The volunteers of
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the city were incorporated into a regiment. The practitioners of the law resolved to take the field, with the judges at their head. Even the managers of the theatres offered to raise a body of their dependants for the service of their country. Yet these combinations only served as instances of the national terror; for the trading part of the city, and those concerned in the money corporations, were overwhelmed with dejection. They could hope for little safety in the courage or discipline of a militia, especially as they, every hour, dreaded an invasion from France, and an insurrection of the Roman Catholics, and other friends to the expelled family. This, therefore, was the moment for the advancement of the adventurer's enterprize. Had he marched up to the capital, he would undoubtedly have been joined by several, secretly attached to his cause. But he determined to retreat once more to Scotland; and thus his scheme was defeated. In fact, he was but nominally the leader of his forces. His Generals, the chiefs of Highland Clans, were, from their education, ignorant; and, from their independency, obstinate. They each embraced peculiar systems, and began to contend with each other for the pre-eminence; so that after violent disputes, they resolved to march back. They effected their retreat to Carlisle without any loss; and from thence crossed the rivers Eden and Solway into Scotland. In this irruption, however, they preserved all the rules of war; they desisted, in a great measure, from rapine; levied contributions; and, in the usual form, left a garrison at Carlisle in their retreat; which, a short time after, to the number of four hundred, surrendered to the Duke of Cumberland, prisoners at discretion. The Pretender being returned to Scotland,

land, proceeded to Glasgow; from which city he exacted severe contributions. Advancing to Stirling, he was joined by Lord Lewis Gordon, at the head of some forces which had been assembled in his absence. Other Clans to the number of two thousand, came in likewise; Spain sent him some supplies of money; and, in one or two skirmishes with the loyalists, his Generals came off with victory; so that his affairs once more seemed to wear an aspect of success. Being joined by John Lord Drummond, he invested the castle of Stirling, commanded by General Blakeney; but his forces being unused to sieges, consumed much time to no purpose. General Hawley, who commanded a considerable body of forces near Edinburgh, undertook to raise the siege. He advanced towards the rebel army, and rendezvoused his whole forces at Falkirk, while the rebels lay encamped at no great distance. After two days, mutually examining of each other's strength, the rebels, on the seventeenth day of January, came on in full spirits to attack the King's army. The Pretender, who stood in the front line, gave the signal to fire; and the first volley served to put Hawley's forces into confusion. The horse retreated with precipitation, and fell in upon their own infantry; the rebels followed their blow; and the greatest part of the royal army fled with the utmost precipitation. They retired in confusion to Edinburgh, leaving the field of battle, with part of their tents and artillery, to the rebels.

This was the end of all their triumphs. A new scene of conduct was now going to open; for the Duke of Cumberland, at that time the favourite of the English army, had put himself at the head of the troops at Edinburgh, which consisted
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of about fourteen thousand men. He resolved therefore to come to a battle as soon as possible; and marched forward, while the young adventurer retired at his approach. The Duke advanced to Aberdeen, where he was joined by the Duke of Gordon, and several other Lords, attached to his family and cause. After having refreshed his troops here for some time, he renewed his march; and, in twelve days, came upon the banks of the deep and rapid river Spey. This was a place where the rebels might have disputed his passage; but they now seemed totally void of all counsel and subordination, without conduct, and without expectation. The Duke still proceeded in his pursuit; and, at length, had advice that the enemy had advanced from Inverness to the plain of Cul-loden, which was about nine miles distant, and there intended to give him battle. On this plain the Highlanders were drawn up in order of battle, to the number of eight thousand men, in thirteen divisions, supplied with some pieces of artillery. The battle began about one o'clock in the afternoon; the cannon of the King's army did dreadful execution among the enemy, while theirs, being but ill served, was ineffectual. One of the great errors in all the Pretender's warlike measures, was his subjecting undisciplined troops to the forms of artful war, and thus repressing their native ferocity, from which alone he could hope for success. After they had borne the English fire for some time, they, at length, became impatient for closer engagement; and about five hundred of them attacked the English left wing, with their accustomed fierceness. The first line being disordered by this onset, two battalions advanced to support it, and galled the enemy by a terrible and close discharge.

charge. At the same time the dragoons under Hawley, and the Argyleshire militia, pulling down a park wall that guarded the enemy's flank, and which the rebels had left but feebly defended, fell in among them, sword in hand, and made great slaughter. In less than thirty minutes they were totally routed, and the field covered with their wounded and slain, to the number of above three thousand men. Civil war is in itself terrible, but still more so when heightened by cruelty. How guilty soever men may be, it is ever the business of a soldier to remember, that he is only to fight an enemy that opposes him, and to spare the suppliant. This victory was in every respect complete; and humanity to the conquered would even have made it glorious. The conquerors often refused mercy to wretches who were defenceless or wounded; and soldiers were seen to anticipate the base employment of the executioner.

Thus sunk all the hopes, and the ambition of the young adventurer; one short hour deprived him of imaginary thrones and sceptres, and reduced him to the utmost distress, being forlorn, out-cast, and shunned by all mankind, except by such as sought to take his life. To the good natured, subsequent distress often atones for former guilt; and while reason would repress humanity, yet our hearts plead in favour of the wretched. The Duke immediately after the decisive action at Culloden, ordered six and thirty deserters to be executed; the conquerors spread terror wherever they came; and, after a short time, the whole country was one scene of slaughter, desolation and plunder; justice seemed forgotten, and vengeance assumed the name. When the news of this victory reached the capital, the whole nation

tion was transported with joy, and the Duke of Cumberland considered as an hero, and the deliverer of his country. Both houses of parliament presented an address of congratulation to the King upon this happy event; they also decreed, in the most solemn manner, their public thanks to his Royal Highness, and the Commons added twenty-five thousand pounds per annum to his former revenue.

I am, &c.

LETTER XVII.

IN the mean time, the unhappy fugitive wandered from mountain to mountain, a wretched spectator of all those horrors, the result of his ill-guided ambition. He now underwent a familiarity of adventures with Charles II. after the defeat at Worcester. He, after the memorable defeat of Culloden, which was on the 16th of April, 1746, wandered about, seeking refuge in caves and cottages, without attendants, and exposed to the mercy of peasants, who could pity, but not support him. Sometimes he lay in forests, continually pursued by the troops of the conquerors, as there were thirty thousand pounds offered for his head. The companions of his distress were Sir Thomas Sheridan, an Irish adventurer, with his two aid-du-camps, Sir David Murray and Mr. Alexander Macleod, Captains Sullivan and O'Neil, two Irish officers who had the French King's commission; Mr. John Hay, one of his secretaries, with two domestics, and one Allen Macdonald; to these he was indebted, whether from

from advice to support, or assistance to execute, the inevitable hardships he had to encounter with, which he began at ten o'clock at night of the fatal day. By five the next morning, he entered the castle of Macdonald of Glengarry; but here he was disappointed of refreshment, as all were fled, not any thing remained but stone walls; but one of his attendants was so fortunate as to take a brace of salmon, which afforded them a meal. Here he put on the disguise of a servant, and pressing forward, was on foot for more than eight and forty hours, when, borne down with fatigue, he fell asleep in his clothes at Donald Cameron's of Glenpean. Next morning he continued his rout through places ever thought till now impassible, until he reached the Glen of Morar; here he rested a few days, then made his way for the western isles, in expectation of finding some convenience to take him to the continent; but in this he was disappointed, so made for the isle of Sky, putting himself under the protection of Donald Macleod, who provided him an eight oared barge, in which he, with his attendants, went on board in the evening of the 26th of April at Locknannaugh in Boredale, the very place he first landed.

They had not been long out when they were benighted, and overtaken by a storm of wind and rain, expecting every moment to sink or overset, so great was the agitation of the sea; but, on the appearance of day, its fury abated, and they found themselves under the promontory of Rossinish; here they came on shore, collecting what they could to make a fire, to give them some warmth, and dry their clothes. However great their distress it proved their preservation; for intelligence being

being received that the adventurer made for the western isles, General Campbell was dispatched in pursuit, who arrived at St. Kilda, where he would certainly have found him, had not the tempest forced him another way. From the promontory where they landed, they took their departure for Stornway, but were again, by distress of weather, forced to make into Scalpay, an isle of the laird of Macleod's; here they assumed the character of shipwrecked merchants, so were hospitably entertained by a farmer on the island.

On the 1st of May, Macleod, the old pilot, set off for Stornway to engage a vessel for the Orkneys; in two days he sent them notice all was ready, so the fugitives put to sea and landed at Loch Sheffort; here they took into the land, making their way over hills for the point of Arinish, where they arrived the fifth, in a most dirty condition: here the pilot brought them some refreshment, who, on his return to Stornway, most unexpectedly found the people in arms, and his vessel secured by an embargo; this happened by his servant getting drunk, who made a discovery, for what purpose the ship had been engaged. This disappointment came upon them as a thunderbolt, depressing their spirits to a great degree, at once depriving them of that gleam of hope with which they had been elated, on the prospect of being released from their almost insupportable distress; they now fled for Lady Kildun's without knowing what course to take, however their boat was their best security, as by it they moved with more ease to themselves, from place to place, and no other situation gave them a prospect of escaping, so closely were they pressed by their pursuers; to this confidante they again trusted themselves, and

made for the southward, but the winds which had hitherto treated them with their utmost terrors, still pursued, driving them on the uninhabited island of Evirn, though not inhospitable to them, as here they found some fish left by its owner to dry, and which was their only support, except what the rocks afforded, but could find no other covering than what the sail of their friendly boat gave them, which they erected into a canopy, sleeping on the bare ground, to which, for some days, they were obliged to submit, as the sea was in such an agitation, as not to be ventured on, in a better equipped vessel.

From this place they took their departure, but had not been long at sea, when they found themselves near a ship of force, which they had not before perceived, owing to a great fog, that had surprised them; they were no sooner discovered than pursued, and by no less than an English ship of war; on this they put about, using their oars to the best purpose possible, but were so unequally matched in the chase, that they were one time brought within musket shot; it was now he supposed it impossible to escape, and that the adventurer made ready to put an end to his life, declaring he would not be taken alive, but of a sudden the sails of the vessel were perceived to fall against her masts, owing to the winds dying away. They took the advantage of this situation, when it was only possible to escape. On their coming on shore it was low water, so they made use of this opportunity to fill a cag with partans or sea-crabs, having no other prospect of support, as they found themselves not far from the promontory they first set out from.

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They now ventured into the land, to the distance of sixteen miles, near the mountain Carrodale, where they remained a month, in want of all necessaries, except what they brought with them, and on the fourteenth of June, O'Neil, O'Sullivan, Burk the guide, and Macleod the pilot, with the adventurer, again put to sea, landing on the small island of Ovia. Here he was more favourably entertained, meeting with Ranald Macdonald, who was then attending his cattle. On the eighteenth he took his departure, for his old promontory Rosfinigh, which was the centre of his motions, but here he could not now come, as they found it encompassed with boats, filled with the militia forces, while others went on shore; in this difficulty he was forced by the sea into the cleft of a rock; but having disengaged the boat, he kept moving on the water, as best suiting his safety. Having discovered the movements of the forces on the hills, under the command of Capt. Caroline Scot, but not being able to keep out any longer, he came on shore within two miles of Kilbridge, (where the Captain landed) here he dismissed all his companions, except O'Neil: making up to an hill, from whence he discovered that all communication with the sea was cut off, so directed the boat to be sunk, to prevent a discovery. However, their wants became so pressing, that O'Neil was forced to leave the fugitive in this forlorn hope, to seek relief in any manner it could be found, when he most fortunately met Miss Flora Macdonald, who was on a visit to her brother at Milton; to her he made known the adventurer's distress, begging her protection, which could be effected in no other manner than his assuming the character of her maid. This was soon agreed to, but the great difficulty was, how to procure clothes

suitable to the design ; this she engaged for, and when in search of, was, with her man, taken into custody by the militia, and detained until the arrival of their commander, which was not before next day, whom she was pleased to find to be Hugh Macdonnald of Armadale, her father-in-law ; of him, with ease, she procured passes for herself, her maid and man, the former by the name of Betty Burke, whom she promised the Captain, on her return, to leave with her mother, as she was an excellent spinner, and of such a person he knew his lady was in want : and to oblige them both, he recommended Betty Burke by letter, at the instance of Miss Flora.

So far she found herself successful, but was still at a loss how to procure the disguise, which was at length collected ; yet no other opportunity offered of moving her ward than by water, and that too with the advantage of the night ; for which purpose a boat was provided, wherein Miss Flora, her maid Betty, and her man Mackechan embarked about eight o'clock, when his usual fortune, on that element, attended him ; for they were forced by a storm near the point of Water-nish in the isle of Sky ; but here they discovered a body of forces, which had just landed from three yawls ; these, to escape the violence of the sea, were drawn on the Beach, which fortunately gave them an opportunity of escaping, but not before several shots were made to bring them to. After this escape, they landed at Kilbridge on the twenty-ninth, where they left Betty Burke in concealment, waiting the opportunity of the night to bring her off, which they did to Portsey, under the care of the old Laird of Rasay, whose government was in an island, a little distance from this place ; here Miss Flora thought it prudent to
leave

leave him, as a further progress would be attended with suspicions of another nature, perhaps more unfavourable to her, and which might not be easily removed ; so discretion made a separation necessary.

On the 1st of July he got to the Glen of Raray, which did not afford a hut to cover him, as the King's troops had set fire to every dwelling there, so that he had nothing but the ground for his bed, and a wisp of heath for his pillow, living upon such food as was conveyed to him by a person in the corner of his plaid. From this place to the Glen of Biasdale, which was in a period of about fourteen days, he underwent his usual dangers, and distresses ; and, on the fifteenth, proposed to depart for Lochabar ; but on enquiry, they found all the passes so guarded, that he was constrained to remain for some time longer in this retreat, where he hoped, though not relieved from the calamity of want, he might yet enjoy security ; but this was not even left him, for Gen. Campbell being again informed of his lurking place, came on one side with four hundred men, dispatching Capt. Scott, on the other, with five hundred more, forming a circle to inclose him, so that not any thing remained but to make off through the Braes of Glenmosiston, and sculk in the Lovat's country ; for this purpose a guide was sent him, which was only to be executed but by creeping in the night on all fours, and so near the soldier's camp, as to hear them in conversation. However, notwithstanding this difficulty, it was effected ; yet another as hazardous stood in the way, that of clambering a hill, whose sides were made slippery by a rivulet that came tumbling down ; but this was not to be an impediment, for where a human foot could be put, was a security to them, and

and proportionably so, as its natural difficulties were great. However, a slip here had near finished his days, had he not been caught by his guide Cameron; however this removal might have secured him from the reach of his enemies, yet it brought with it no other than extreme want, and so destitute of every necessary, as no alternative remained but to die by hunger, or venture again to escape the vigilance of no less than twenty-seven encampments that surrounded the situation, and a number of scouting parties sent out to traverse the country.

In this distress, prudence had not forsaken him, or the companions of his misery; for to effect this, it was proposed that one of the attendants should go alone, and explore the possibility of an escape, taking to his assistance the advantage of a dark night; who agreed to return, to direct the accomplishing it with more certainty after this essay; but if detected, and his return prevented, there remained no other than to starve or surrender; but however, to their no less joy than surprise, Cameron returned; so on they went, and that for a good way parallel to the chain of forces, which they passed unnoticed about three o'clock of the morning of the twenty-first, and got to Corriscorridill, near Lock-Urin, where they were comforted with a slice of cheese, covered with oatmeal, and a draught of water.

From this place they moved about eight o'clock at night; for no situation, however dismal or forsaken, was to have been made an abiding place, as the army every now and then made excursions from their camps, so as to leave no place unexamined that could give shelter to a human creature. Many of these parties he came in sight of, and was as often obliged for protection to the
rock

rock or heath that concealed him; and the pursuit was now executed with such diligence, that it was thought unsafe for the three to remain any longer together, so that Cameron left him, and the adventurer was taken under the sole guidance of Glenaladale: they had not been long set out before they missed their purse of forty guineas, a loss that was then so great, as not to be given over, without an attempt to recover it, which was done, and proved a fortunate incident; for while Glenaladale returned in search of it, the adventurer ascended an hill to take a view of his situation, where he had not been long, when he saw some soldiers on their march, who passed him, taking the route, his guide and he had agreed to go, but for the delay just mentioned; however, this was a critical minute, in which he escaped his pursuers, and recovered the only cash he had.

That which came next into debate, was, where they should go, or what course they should take. This, however, they determined should lead to Glen-moriston, where they arrived on the twenty-fourth, worn out with fatigue and hunger, as they had not eaten a morsel for eight and forty hours. Here they found eight fugitives, and though in but little better circumstances, yet it in some measure relieved their distress, notwithstanding they could be no other than their companions in misery; but human nature, made for society, has a pleasure in it, whether in adversity or joy. The men led him to a cave, where, after dividing with him a part of their support, they shewed him a bed, made of fern and tops of heath; here nature was solaced; for our pleasures in enjoyment are always proportioned to the want of those necessities she gives, and not to the delicacy of them. With these eight men and his friend he continued between the

Bracs

Bracs of Glenmoriston and Glenstrathfenar, until the guards were removed, as it was then generally believed the adventurer had been killed by some of their scouts. Here they subsisted on what the country could afford them, which was very miserable, except a hart that had wandered, which they brought down by a discharge of one of their pieces; on this they feasted without bread or salt.

The avenues being now opened, his friends set out to seek him, where he was found without shoe or stocking, clothed in rags and dirt, and so reduced by fatigue, that they scarcely knew him. However, his friends provided him with necessaries; and in a little time, he descended the frightful wilds of Glengarry, where he had wandered for near six months, often hemmed round by his pursuers, but still finding some expedient to save him from captivity and death. One instance more of fidelity we cannot omit, as it does a particular credit to humanity, and shews the power of money has not an equal influence every where. One day, having walked from morning till night, pressed by hunger, and worn with fatigue, he ventured to enter an house, the owner of which he well knew was attached to the opposite party: "The son of your King," said he, entering, comes to beg a bit of bread and some clothes. I know your present attachment to my adversaries, but I believe you have sufficient honour not to abuse my confidence, or take the advantage of my misfortunes. Take these rags that have for some time been my only covering, and keep them. You may, probably, restore them to me one day when seated on the throne of my Father." His host was touched with his distress, assisted him as far as he was able, and never divulged his secret.

cret. At length, on the twentieth of September, 1746, he took his departure from Mordart, on board the *Bellona*, a privateer of St. Maloes, mounting thirty-two guns with swivels, and three hundred and forty men. This ship was engaged by Capt. Harrow of Dillon's regiment, who was dispatched to France for the purpose, and arrived on the twenty-ninth at Roscou, within three leagues of Morlaix, with difficulty escaping the vigilance of Admiral Lestock.

You must observe, that I have been equally particular in the relation of the unfortunate Prince's escape, which you have just read, as in that given by King Charles II. of himself, when flying before his enemies, but in circumstances very different; one pursued by the subverters of the constitution, the other by its Protectors; both have their advocates, and the difficulty that attends the writers of English history arises from this; but if men were guided by reason, and not passion, the line to be drawn would be less complexed. The objects that should principally engage the Historian, are the intention of government, and its institution; which is the happiness of the people; this was the original and intent of the compact that first made and formed it, and when that is deviated from, the happy poise of felicity is broken, the unhappy consequence of which is but too strongly marked in the history you are now engaged with. The violation of this compact justifies the Revolution, for Kings should know that they are but men, and are equally bound with them; from them they derive the sacredness of their persons, as well as their power; and let men, before they raise the arm of opposition, consider their engagements, and that every individual is bound to an obedience of the higher powers,

ers, in supporting the general good of the particular community of which they are a part; that is, to support the scheme adopted for the purpose, which none have a right to disturb or oppose. These are the principles of free states in general, and from this the mind, with ease, may make the particular application, which for every such state must be done.

This is what Mr. Locke calls, “the freedom of men under government, that is, to have a standing rule to live by, common to every one of the society, and made by the legislative power created in it,” and the deviating from this constitutes, what is allowable, or not, to be opposed.

Let these vicissitudes of human life have a proper effect on your conduct, and learn on whom you are to have your dependence, and that the greatest of us are no more than frail beings, whose strength is not in their own arm. Happy are they who profit by the misfortunes of others, and make that use of the study you are now engaged in, which is one of its best purposes. The reflection that must arise from what has been just related, I hope will have its effect, and stablish your principles, holding fast to your religion and liberty; these are the chief motives, and what I would inculcate to my son, and if my affection has protracted my zeal, let it be remembered to whom I write.

I am, &c.

L E T T E R XVIII.

WHILE the Prince thus led a wandering and solitary life, the scaffolds and the gibbets were bathed with the blood of his adherents: seventeen officers of the rebel army were executed

at

at Kennington Common, in the neighbourhood of London, whose constancy in death gained more proselytes to their cause, than perhaps their victories could have done. Nine were executed in the same manner at Carlisle; six at Brumpton; seven at Penrith; and eleven at York. A few obtained pardons; and a considerable number were transported to the Plantations. The Earls of Kilmarnock and Cromartie, with the Lord Balmerino, were tried by their Peers, and found guilty. Cromartie was pardoned; the other two were beheaded on Tower-Hill. Kilmarnock, either from conviction, or from the hope of a pardon, owned his crime, and declared his repentance of it. On the other hand, Balmerino, who had from his youth up, been bred to arms, died in a more undaunted manner. When his fellow-sufferer, as commanded, bid God bless King George, Balmerino still held fast to his principles, and cried out, God bless King James, and suffered with the utmost intrepidity. Lord Lovat and Mr. Ratcliff, the titular Earl of Derwentwater, suffered the same fate with equal resolution. Thus ended a rebellion, dictated by youth and presumption, and conducted without art or resolution.

A rebellion quelled, and mercy shewn to the delinquents, ever strengthens the reigning cause. How it might have been in the present instance I will not pretend to determine; whether too much rigour might have been exerted upon the conquered, posterity must determine; actions of this kind are too near our own times to be either judged of, or talked of with freedom. Immediately after the rebellion was suppressed, the legislature undertook to establish several regulations in Scotland, which were equally conducive to the happiness of the people there, and the tranquillity of

of the united kingdom. The Highlanders, who had, until this time, continued to wear the old military dress of the Romans, and who always went armed, were now reformed. Their habits were, by act of parliament, reduced to the modern modes; the obedience they were under to their chiefs was abolished, and the lowest subjects of that part of the kingdom were granted a partition of British freedom.

But whatever tranquillity might have been restored by these means at home, the flames of war still continued to rage upon the continent with its accustomed violence. The French went forward with rapid success, having reduced almost the whole Netherlands to their obedience. In vain the Dutch negotiated, supplicated, and evaded war; they saw themselves stripped of all those strong towns which defended their dominions from invasion; and they now lay almost defenceless, ready to receive terms from their conquerors. The Dutch, at this time, were very different from their forefathers, the brave assertors of liberty, in the beginning of their republic; the individuals of their state were rich, while the government was poor; they had lost, in the spirit of traffic and luxury, all generosity of sentiment, and desire of independence; they only sought riches, regardless of public virtue. They were divided in their councils between two factions which now subsisted, namely, that which declared for a Stadtholder, and that which, with attachments to France, opposed his election. The prevalence of either side was almost equally fatal to liberty; if a Stadtholder was elected, they then saw their constitution altered from a republic to a kind of limited monarchy; if the opposite party prevailed, they were to feel the weight of a confirmed aristocracy, confirmed

firmed by French power, and crouching under its authority. Of the two evils they chose the former; the people, in several towns, inflamed almost to tumult and sedition, compelled their magistrates to declare for the Prince of Orange as Stadtholder, Captain-general and Admiral of the United Provinces. The vigorous consequences of this resolution immediately appeared; all commerce with the French was prohibited; the Dutch army was augmented; and orders were issued to commence hostilities against the French by sea and land.

Thus we see this war diffused throughout the whole system of Europe, in some measure resembling a disorder, the symptoms of which, at different times, appear in different parts of the body, remitting and raging by turns. At the commencement of the war we have seen the Queen of Hungary upon the point of losing all her possessions. Soon after we saw the unfortunate Duke of Bavaria, who had been chosen Emperor by the name of Charles VII. banished from his throne, stripped of his hereditary dukedom, and even shrinking from surrounding dangers. We have seen the Duke of Savoy, now King of Sardinia, changing that side which some years before he espoused, and joining with Austria and England, against the ambitious designs of France, while Italy still felt all the terrors of war, or rather saw foreigners contending with each other for her dominions; the French and Spaniards on one side, the Imperialists and the King of Sardinia on the other. Thus Rome, that once gave laws to the world, now saw the troops of Germany and Spain, by turns, enter into her territories; and, after various combats, she at last saw the Imperialists become masters. The Spaniards and French lost the most flourishing armies, notwithstanding

withstanding the excellent conduct of the Prince of Conti their General; and, at last, after a bloody victory obtained over the Spaniards at St. Lazaro, the beautiful city of Genoa, which had sided with Spain, was obliged to submit to the conquerors, to suffer some indignities imposed upon them, and to pay a most severe contribution.

The city of Genoa had, for ages before, maintained its own laws, and boasted of liberty. Besides its inner wall, it had another formed by a chain of rocks of more than two leagues extent; but both being built in those times when modern fortification was yet unknown, it was not thought, by its Senate, capable of making a proper resistance. Upon submitting, the unhappy Italians too soon found that no mercy was to be expected from the court of Vienna, which had ever patronized oppression. More than a million sterling was demanded for a contribution; a tax, the payment of which must have utterly ruined the city. The magistrates did all in their power to pay the exorbitant sum demanded; and the German troops exercised every inhumanity in exacting it. The conquerors lived upon the people, and treated them with an insolence which was natural to them as conquerors and Germans. The Genoese, were, at length, reduced to despair, and were resolved to make a last effort for the recovery of their liberty and independence. The Austrians took the cannon of the city, in order to transport them to Province, where their arms had already penetrated. The Genoese themselves were obliged to draw those cannon, which they had once considered, as the defence and ornament of their citadel. It was on this occasion that an Austrian officer struck one of the citizens, who had been employed in this laborious task. This blow served to ani-

mate

mate the people with their former spirit of freedom. They took up arms in every quarter of the town, and surprised some battalions of the Austrians, surrounded others, and cut them in pieces. The senate, uncertain how to proceed, neither encouraged nor stopped the citizens, who drove the Austrians entirely out, and then appointed commanders, and guarded the walls with the utmost regularity.

This revolution in a little city, the transactions of which has filled whole Folios of history, should not be passed over without remark: though no longer capable of maintaining its liberties amidst the shock of the enormous powers of Europe; yet still we find it possessed of its ancient spirit; which is again sunk, by the prevailing power of the Senate, who have established their aristocracy on the necks of the citizens, as before.

In this manner we see victory and miscarriage mutually declaring for either; all sides growing more feeble, and none acquiring any real recompence for the losses sustained. Thus, about this time, the English made an unsuccessful expedition into France, in order to attack Port l'Orient, in which they came off without any honour. The French gained a considerable victory at Rocroux in Flanders, over the allies, although it procured them no real advantage; and it cost them a greater number of lives than those whom they obliged to retire. The Dutch, in this general conflict, seemed the greatest losers. A victory gained over the allies at La Feldt served to reduce them to a still greater degree of distrust in their Generals, than they had hitherto shewn: but the taking of Bergen-op-Zoom, the strongest fortification of Dutch Brabant, and which put the French in possession of the whole navigation of the Schelde, threw

threw them almost into despair. But these victories, in favour of France, were counterbalanced with almost equal disappointments. In Italy, the French General, Marshal Belleisle's brother, at the head of thirty-four thousand men, attempted to penetrate into Piedmont; but his troops were put to the rout, and himself slain. The French King equipped an unsuccessful armament for the recovery of Cape Breton; and not discouraged by this failure, fitted out two squadrons, one to make a descent upon the British colonies in America, and the other to assist the operations in the East Indies. These, however, were attacked by Anson and Warren, and nine of their ships were taken. Soon after this Commodore Fox, with six ships of war, took above forty French ships laden from St. Domingo; and this loss was soon after followed by another defeat, which the French fleet sustained from Admiral Hawke, in which seven ships of the line, and several frigates were taken.

This variety of success served to make all the powers at war heartily desirous of a peace. The States-General had, for some years, endeavoured to stop the progress of a war, in which they could gain no advantages, and had all to lose. The King of France was sensible, that, after a victory, was the most advantageous opportunity of proposing terms of peace; and even expressed his desire of general tranquillity, in a personal conversation with Sir John Ligonier, who had been made prisoner in the last victory obtained by the French at La Feldt. The bad success of his Admirals at sea, his Generals' misfortunes in Italy, the frequent bankruptcies of his subjects, the election of a Stadtholder in Holland, who opposed his interests, his views in Germany entirely frustrated by the elevation of the Duke of Tuscany to rule the Empire;

pire; all these contributed to make him weary of the war. An accommodation was therefore agreed upon; and the contending powers consented to a congress at Aix-la-Chapelle, where the Earl of Sandwich and Sir Thomas Robinson assisted as plenipotentiaries from the King of Great Britain. The treaty which takes its name from that city, was concluded on the seventh day of October, a lasting instance of precipitate counsels and English humility. By this it was agreed, that all prisoners, on each side, should be mutually restored, and all conquests given up. That the Duchies of Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla, should be ceded to Don Philip, heir apparent to the Spanish throne, and his heirs; but in case of his succeeding to the crown of Spain, that then these dominions should revert to the house of Austria. That the fortifications of Dunkirk to the sea should be demolished; that the ship annually sent with slaves to the coast of Spain, should have this privilege continued for four years; that the King of Prussia should be secured in the possession of Silesia, which he had conquered; and that the Queen of Hungary should be secured in her patrimonial dominions. But one article of the peace was more displeasing and afflictive to the English than all the rest; for it was agreed, that she should send two persons of rank and distinction to France as hostages, until restitution should be made of all the conquests, which England possessed of the enemy, either in the East or West-Indies. This was a mortifying stipulation; but there was no mention made of the searching English ships in the American seas, upon which the war originally began. The treaty of Utrecht had long been a subject of reproach to those by whom it was negotiated; but, with all its faults, the treaty that was just concluded

concluded was far more despicable and erroneous. The honour of the nation was forgotten; its interests left undetermined. Yet such was the strange infatuation of the multitude, that the treaty of Utrecht was held in universal contempt, and this was extolled with the highest strain of panegyric. The truth is, the people were wearied with repeated disgrace, and only expected an accumulation of misfortunes by continuing the war. The ministers and their emissaries, about this period, had the art of persuading men to what they thought proper, and represented the circumstances of the nation as flourishing, though the public was groaning beneath an immense load of debt; and though all measures were guided by an ignorant and unconstitutional faction, raised by the power of corruption.

This shews the imperfections of the human heart, which, when inflated with the vanity of power, as constantly inverts the œconomy of its designs, and like the camelion reflects the colour, to which it is nearest placed, or seems most to enjoy; how abject and distant from its original must that kingdom be, when its nobility, once its support and chief ornament, only stem the torrent of corruption, when displaced; then mounting on the steps of popularity, turn out delinquents, and become themselves contaminated with the contagion, neglecting both liberty and their country; and to intrench themselves, wantonly throw away her credit and despise her concerns; shewing such avidity for possession, that *when in place*, declare all opposition, as machinations of the restless and secret enemies, both of king and people; and with the same breath it has been declared, *when out of place*, that opposition to ministerial measures, are as salutary to the constitution,

tion, as gusts of wind are to the purifying the atmosphere we breathe. To such a dilemma must the state be brought, when in the place of British frugality, is substituted unlimited sensuality, and to such a degree, that the natural supplies of a good patrimony are not sufficient to support it, so that her nobles are to be bartered with, they riot in the profusion of those places, which should be coveted, more for the lustre they would give (if properly disposed of) than for the wealth they bring. We are told by undeniable authority, that a house divided against itself cannot stand; so that whatever may be said of the permanency of the constitution, we have reason to fear its stability, to support, the happy equilibrium with which it should be poised.

Well might a late minister adopt that maxim, that every man had but his price, and that while he held the key of the cellar, he could at any time make the servants drunk: He issued his mandates and served his council (as the attorney does his lawyer) with their briefs (the fee of retention they already had) which they were to speak to, and by how much dexterity and ability they shewed in the contest, they were allowed to add house to house, and to anticipate to a distance of time, when their memories will be truly offensive, and when *they* will know the advantage of an upright heart: Such are the use of genius and abilities, given for better purposes, and thus seduced from the complection of the times; but remember, “by their fruits you shall know them.”

I am, &c.

LETTER

L E T T E R XIX.

THIS peace just made, could be termed only a temporary cessation from general hostilities; though the war between England and France had actually subsided in Europe, yet in the East and West-Indies they still carried on hostile operations, both sides equally culpable, yet each complaining of the infraction.

In the mean time, as Europe enjoyed a temporary tranquillity, the people of England expected, and the government promised them, a restitution of those blessings which had been taken from them by a long and obstinate war. A magnificent firework was played off upon this occasion; which, though an useless and vain expence, served to amuse the populace, and remove their attention from the state of the nation.

The ministry also shewed some desire to promote the commerce of the kingdom; and, for this purpose, a bill was passed for encouraging a British herring fishery, under proper regulations. From such a scheme carried into execution, great advantages were expected to accrue; the Dutch, who had long enjoyed the sole profits arising from it, considered the sea as a mine of inexhaustible wealth. However, experience has shewn that the English were either incapable of turning this fishery to the same advantage, or that their company was not established with the most strict oeconomy. Private persons have often been found to make fortunes by this fishery; but the company have found themselves considerable losers.

A scheme,

A scheme, which, by many, was thought still more advantageous to the nation, was, the encouraging those who had been discharged the army or navy, to become members of a new colony in North America, called Nova Scotia. To this retreat, it was thought, the waste of an exuberant nation might well be drained off; and there those free spirits might be kept employed, who, if suffered to remain at home, would only prey upon the community. This was a cold climate, and a barren soil, where the English had a fort, and a small garrison, rather to intimidate the neighbouring French, and repress their encroachments, than to derive any advantages from the improvement of trade, or the cultivation of the country. It was here that a scheme was laid for the foundation of a new colony, which might improve the fishery upon that coast, and become a new source of wealth to the mother country. Thus did the nation exchange her hardy and veteran troops for the expectation of precarious wealth. Every colony taken from the parent country serves to lessen its strength; and all the wealth imported into it, after it has become moderately rich, being only used as the instrument of luxury, instead of invigorating the nation, tends to render it more effeminate.

However, it was advertised by authority, that all proper encouragement would be given to such officers and private men, who, being discharged from the service of the government, should be willing to settle in Nova Scotia. Fifty acres of land were granted to every private soldier or seaman, free from taxes for ten years, and then to pay only one shilling a year. Besides this fifty, ten acres more were to be granted to every individual
of

of which each family should consist. Every officer, under the rank of ensign, was to have four-score acres; ensigns were to have two hundred, lieutenants three, captains four, and those above that rank six. Such offers failed not to induce numbers to try their fortunes on that desolate coast; and, in a little time, about four thousand adventurers, with their families, were carried thither; a town named Halifax was built in honour to the nobleman who then presided at the board of trade, and who had the greatest share in founding the colony; and the colonists left to glean a scanty subsistence from an ungrateful soil. Since that time, notwithstanding all the encouragement this colony has received from the government, the inhabitants have cleared but a very small part of the woods with which the face of the country is covered. Agriculture is quite forsaken; and the settlement entirely subsists by the sums expended by the army and navy stationed in this part of the western world.

Here those voluntary out-casts of their country expected to live, though hardly, yet at least securely; but, in this they found themselves disappointed. The Indians, a savage and fierce people, from the first looked upon these settlements of the English as an encroachment upon their own liberties; and the French, who were equally jealous, fomented these outrages. Commissaries were therefore appointed to meet at Paris, and compromise these disputes; but these conferences were rendered abortive by mutual cavillings, and all the arts of evasion.

In the mean time Mr. Pelham, who chiefly conducted the business of the state, and was esteemed a man of candour and capacity, laid a scheme for
lightening

lightening the immense load of debt that was laid upon the nation. His plan was to lessen the national incumbrance, by lowering the interest which had been promised upon the first raising the supplies, or obliging the lenders to receive the sums originally granted. Those who were proprietors of stock, and received, for the use of their money, four *per cent.* were, by royal authority ordered to subscribe their names, signifying their consent to accept of three pounds ten shillings *per cent.* a year after, and three *per cent.* only about six years after their thus subscribing; and, in case of a refusal, that the government would pay off the principal. This scheme was attended with the desired effect; though it, in some measure, was a force upon the lender, who had originally granted his money upon different terms, yet it was salutary to the nation; and, as Machiavel has it, political injustice is sometimes allowable, in order to secure national benefits. Besides this salutary measure, others were pursued by the minister at the helm, with equal success. The importation of iron from America was allowed, and the trade to Africa laid open to the whole nation; but, at the same time, to be superintended by the board of trade and plantations.

But all the advantages the nation reaped from these salutary measures, were not sufficient to counterbalance the stroke which liberty received (as some are of opinion) by an unusual stretch of the privileges of the house of commons. As this is a point which deserves the strictest attention, permit me to trace it up to the source. The city of Westminster had long been represented by members who were nominated, in some measure, by the ministry; Lord Trentham having vacated his seat

seat in the house, by accepting a place under the crown, he again declared himself a candidate; but met with violent opposition. It was objected to him by some, that he had been uncommonly active in introducing some French strollers, who had come over to exhibit plays upon the suppression of our own. This accusation, whether true or false, excited numbers against him, who styled themselves the *independent Electors of Westminster*, and named Sir George Vandeput, a private gentleman, as his competitor. The opposition resolved to support their candidate at their own expence. They accordingly opened houses of entertainment, solicited votes, and propagated abuse as usual. At length the poll being closed, the majority appeared in favour of Lord Trentham; a scrutiny was demanded by the other side; it was protracted by the obstinacy of both parties; but this also turning out in favour of Lord Trentham, the independent electors petitioned the house, complaining of an undue election, and of partiality and injustice in the high-bailiff of Westminster, who took the poll. To this petition the house paid little regard, but proceeded to examine the high-bailiff as to the causes that had so long protracted the election; who had laid the blame upon Mr. Crowle, who had acted as council for the petitioners, on the honourable Alexander Murray, and one Gibson an upholsterer. These three persons were therefore brought to the bar of the house; Crowle and Gibson, after having asked pardon upon their knees, and being reprimanded by the house, were dismissed. Murray was first admitted to bail; but, after some witnesses had deposed, that he had headed a mob to intimidate the voters, it was voted that he should be committed a close prisoner to New-

Newgate; and, to invigorate their measures, that he should receive this sentence at the bar of the house on his knees. He accordingly appeared; but being directed by the Speaker to kneel, refused to comply. This refusal threw the whole house into a commotion; and it was ordered that he should be committed close prisoner to Newgate, debarred the use of pen, ink, and paper, and that no person should have access to him without permission from the house. This imprisonment he underwent, sensible that it could continue no longer than while they continued to sit; and, at the close of the session, he was conducted from prison to his own house, amidst the acclamations of the people. He now was thought, by many, entirely free from all further prosecution; but, in this, they were mistaken; for, at the opening of the ensuing sitting of parliament, a motion was made, that Mr. Murray should be again committed close prisoner to the Tower. Hitherto it was supposed by several, that the house of commons had acted with a spirit of resentment. Now it was thought, that they made an attempt at extending their privileges. Though the delinquent, a person of no great consequence in himself, had taken the prudent precaution of retiring from their resentment, yet several of the people saw that the house considered itself rather as a body distinct from the people, than the guardians of the people; and, instead of maintaining the liberties of the subject in general, attempted to increase their own. Some thought they saw, in this measure, the seeds of future aristocracy; that the house of commons constituted themselves judges of their own privileges; and that the liberty of every individual in society was at the disposal

of a body who professed acting chiefly for their own honour.

However this may be, another measure was soon after taken, which, in reality, made distinctions among the people, and laid an unpassable line between rich and poor. This was an act for the better preventing clandestine marriages, and for the more public solemnization of that ceremony. The grievance complained of, and which this law was to redress, was, that the sons and daughters of opulent families were often seduced in marriage, before they had acquired sufficient experience in life to be sensible of the disparity of fortune in the match. This statute therefore enacted, that the bans of marriage should be regularly published three successive Sundays in the church of the parish where both parties had resided for one month at least, before the ceremony. That a marriage which was solemnized without this previous publication, or a license obtained from the Bishop's Court, should be void, and the person who solemnized it should be transported for seven years. This act was, at that time, thought replete with consequences injurious to society; and experience has manifested some of them; villains have gone about deceiving ignorant women, under a pretence of marriage, and then have left them without redress. The poor were thus rendered utterly incapable of making alliances with the rich; and the wealth of the nation has thus been more liable to accumulation in opulent families. It has been thought to impede that ardour which impels many to marry; and to clog a ceremony of the most infinite advantage to society, with procrastination and delay. Some have affirmed, that debaucheries and lewdness have become more frequent

quent since the enacting this law; and it is believed, that the numbers of the people are upon the decline.

This session of parliament was also distinguished by another act equally unpopular, and, perhaps, equally injurious to the religion of the community. This was a law for naturalizing the Jews. The minister boldly affirmed, that such a law would greatly contribute to the advantage of the nation; that it would increase the credit and commerce of the kingdom, and set a laudable example of political toleration. The people in general, however, were of very different sentiments; they saw that greater favour was shewn, by this bill, to Jews, than to some other sects professing the Christian religion; that an introduction of this people in the kingdom would disgrace the character of the nation, and cool the zeal of the natives already too lukewarm. However, notwithstanding all opposition, this bill was passed into a law; nor was it until the ensuing session of parliament, that it was thought necessary to be repealed.

An act, equally unpopular with the two former, was now also passed, which contained regulations for the better preserving the game. By this none but men already possessed of a stated fortune, had a privilege of carrying a gun, or destroying game, though even upon the grounds which he himself rented. This totally damped all that martial spirit among the lower orders of mankind, by preventing their handling those arms which might one day be necessary to defend their country; and gave the rich the sole enjoyment of a pleasure, which, before, had been considered as the common privilege of humanity. Such were the laws passed this session; through all which a spirit of aristocracy

was discerned by some. The body of the rich, no longer fearing oppression from the throne; or an infringement of their own liberties, now began to lean heavy upon the poor, and to consider the interests of that useful part of society, as entirely distinct from their own. They never omitted, however, the usual addresses to the throne; and this session was remarkable for an address of thanks to his Majesty for maintaining, and rendering permanent, the general tranquillity of Europe, at a time when war was kindling in almost every quarter of the world.

I am, &c.

LETTER XX.

IF we seek for the origin of that war which now threatened universal devastation, we shall find it kindling up in several countries, both of Europe, America, and Asia, at one and the same time. Most other national contests have arisen from some one principal cause; but this war seems to have been produced by the concurrence of several, or it may be considered as the continuance of the late war, which had not been effectually extinguished by the defective treaty of Aix la Chapelle.

In Asia, upon the coast of Malabar, the English and French had never ceased hostilities. The claims of Prussia and Austria, upon the territories of Silesia, had never been thoroughly adjusted. The limits of Nova Scotia, inhabited by the English, and bordered upon by the French, were never precisely determined; and, southward, the boun-

boundaries of Acadia, an extended country belonging to the French, and bordering upon Virginia, were equally left uncertain. Negotiations had long been carried on to determine these differences; but what could reason do in determining disputes in which there were no certain principles to be guided by? The limits of these countries had never been settled; for they were, before this time, thought too remote, or too insignificant, to employ much attention. And it was not probable that powers who had no other right to the countries in dispute, but that of invasion, would have equity enough to agree upon sharing the spoil.

The right which any of the contending powers pretended to, might, in the eye of reason, be thought very controvertible; but the convenience which either party was to derive from the enjoyment of their peculiar claims was not so uncertain. As the dissensions seemed to begin in North America, we must turn to that country to consider their rise. The French had been the first cultivators of Nova Scotia, and, by great industry, and long perseverance, rendered the soil, naturally barren, somewhat fertile, and capable of sustaining nature with very little assistance from Europe. This country, however, had frequently changed masters, until the English were acknowledged as the lawful possessors by the treaty of Utrecht. The possession of this country, by any other nation, would expose our colonies to perpetual invasion, and assist them in acquiring a superiority in commerce, and the northern fisheries. It has been already observed, that we had an infant colony upon that coast, which was chiefly supported by royal bounty, and struggled with all the disadvantages of the severe climate, and the ungrateful soil.

soil. But it had an obstruction to its growth still more formidable than either. The French, who had been long settled in the back parts of the country, continually spirited up the Indians to repel the new comers; so that some of them were actually murdered, or sold to the French at Louisburgh. These violations were complained of, and complaint produced recrimination; so that the two powers of France and England were negotiating with, accusing, and destroying each other all at one time.

Now also began to be observed another source of dispute, which promised as much uneasiness as the former. The French, pretending to have first discovered the mouth of the river Mississippi, claimed the whole adjacent country towards New Mexico on the east, quite to the Apalachian mountains on the west. And finding several Englishmen, who had settled beyond these mountains, both from motives of commerce, and invited by the natural beauties of the country, they drove them away, and built such forts as could command the whole country around. It was now, therefore, seen, that their intentions were to surround the English colonies which lay along the shore, by taking possession of the internal parts of the country that lay on the back of our settlements; and being already possessed of the northern and southern shores, thus to inclose us on every side, and secure to themselves all trade with the natives of the country. The English, therefore, justly apprehended, that if the French were able to unite their northern colonies, which were traded into by the river St. Lawrence, to their southern, which were accessible by the river Mississippi, they must, in time, become masters of the whole territory; and,
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by having a wide country to increase in, would soon multiply, and become every year more dangerous.

The government of England having long complained of these incroachments, determined, at length, to repel force by force, and to cut the knot of negotiation, which they could not untie. Orders were dispatched to the governors of the provinces to unite into a confederacy for their mutual security; and, if possible, to bring the Indians over to their cause. The Indians were a fierce, savage people, unacquainted with the arts, but from infancy trained to the practice of war. It had long been the method of the English to cultivate their friendship in times of danger, but to slight their alliance in circumstances of tranquillity; this, in some measure, served to alienate their affections from our government; but the fraud and avarice of our merchants, particularly that called the *Ohio Company*, who sold them bad merchandizes, and treated them with equal insolence and perfidy, served to confirm their aversion. Besides, there was something in the disposition of the French settlers in these regions more similar to theirs; the French, like the natives, were hardy, enterprising, and poor; they naturally therefore joined with those allies, from conquering of whom they could expect no plunder; and declared against the English colonists, who were rich, frugal, and laborious, and whose spoils they consequently were the more desirous to share.

Thus then the English had not only the French, but almost the whole body of the Indian nations to oppose; yet this confederacy against them did not give a greater union to the different provinces,

whose

whose interest it was to oppose. Some of the provinces, who, from their situation, had little to fear from the enemy, or little advantages to expect from victory, declined furnishing their share of the supplies; the governors of some other colonies, who had been men of broken fortunes, and had come from their native country to retrieve them by acts of rapacity and oppression here, were so much dreaded, or hated, that they lost all influence in inspiring the colonists with a proper spirit of defence. The ministry, however, at home, began to exert itself for their defence, and their measures were hastened by hostilities already commenced, there having been, for some time, a skirmishing between General Lawrence to the north, and Colonel Washington to the south, with parties of the French, in which the latter were victorious. It would be tedious, as well as unimportant, to relate all the preparations that now began to be made by either party; or to load this account with barbarous names and insignificant marches; or to recount the alternate victories and defeats of either side; but it is sufficient to observe, that they seemed, in some measure, to have imbibed the ferocity of the manners of the savage people, with whom they fought, and exercised various cruelties, either from a spirit of reprisal or revenge.

Four operations were undertaken by the English at the same time; one commanded by Colonel Monckton, to drive the French from the incroachments they had made upon the province of Nova Scotia; another to the south, against Crown Point, under the command of General Johnson; a third commanded by General Shirley, against Niagara; and a fourth, still farther to the south, against Du

Quesne,

Quefne, under the conduct of General Braddock. In these respective expeditions, Monckton was successful; Johnson victorious, though without effect; Shirley was thought dilatory, and his expedition deferred to another season; but the fortunes of Braddock are so extraordinary as to require a more ample detail. This General was recommended to this service by the Duke of Cumberland, who was justly sensible of his courage, and knowledge in the art of war. These two advantages, however, which, upon other occasions, are thought the highest requisites of a General were, in some measure, conducive to this commander's overthrow. His courage made him obstinate; and his skill in war was improper to be exerted in a country where there were no regular advances to be made, nor a marshalled enemy to encounter. This brave but unfortunate man set forward upon the expedition in June, and left Fort Cumberland on the tenth, at the head of two thousand two hundred men, directing his march to that part of the country where General Washington had been defeated the year before. Upon his arrival there he was informed, that the French at Fort Du Quesne expected a reinforcement of five hundred men; he therefore resolved, with all haste, to advance and attack them, before they became too powerful by this assistance. Leaving, therefore, Colonel Dunbar, with eight hundred men, to bring up the provisions, stores, and heavy baggage, as fast as the nature of the service would permit, he marched forward with the rest of his army through a country equally dangerous from its forests and savage inhabitants; a country where Europeans had never before attempted to penetrate, wild, solitary, and hideous. Still, however,

ver, he went forward with intrepidity, through the deserts of Oswego, regardless of the enemy's attempts, taking no care previously to explore the woods or thickets, as if the nearer he approached the enemy, the less regardless he was of danger. At length, on the eighth of July, he encamped within ten miles of the Fort Du Quesne, which he intended to attack, and the next day resumed his march, without so much as endeavouring to get intelligence of an enemy he despised. With this confidence he was marching forward; his soldiers promised themselves a speedy cessation from their harrassing march, and all things seemed to promise success, when the whole army was at once astonished by a general discharge of arms, from an unseen enemy, along the front and left flank. It was now too late to think of retreating; his whole body had passed into the defile, which the enemy had artfully permitted, before they attempted to fire. His van-guard therefore fell back, in consternation, upon the main body: and the panic soon become general. The officers alone disdained to fly, while Braddock himself, at their head, discovered the greatest intrepidity, and the highest imprudence; he never thought of retreating, but obstinately continued on the spot where he was, and gave orders to the few brave men who surrounded him, to form according to the rules of war, and regularly advance against the enemy. An enthusiast to the discipline of the field, he desired to bring the spirit of a German campaign into the wilds of America. In the mean time, his officers fell thick about him, while he still continued to issue out orders with composure, though he had five horses shot under him, and though the whole body of his troops was fled. At length receiving

ceiving a musket-shot through the lungs, he dropped, and a total confusion ensued. All the artillery, ammunition, and baggage, of the army, were left to the enemy; the General's cabinet of letters also shared the same fate; and the loss of the English, in this unhappy surprise, amounted to seven hundred men; and the remainder of the army, some time after, returned to Philadelphia. It was in this manner the expedition of General Braddock terminated; from which England had expected such advantages. In all actions, that excite the applause and admiration of mankind, a part of their success is owing to conduct, and a part to fortune. Of the latter Braddock was totally forsaken; he was unsuccessful; and the ungrateful world are unwilling to grant him the former.

Thus unfortunate were the beginnings of this war, with regard to England; it was resolved therefore, that no measures were now to be preserved with the French; and orders were given to take their ships wherever found, tho' there was yet no formal declaration of war. With this order the naval commanders very readily and willingly complied, so that the English ports were soon filled with ships taken from the enemy, and kept as an indemnification for those forts, which the enemy had unjustly possessed themselves of in America. The French complained loudly against the injustice of this proceeding; they represented it to the rest of Europe, as a breach of that faith which should be observed among nations, as a piratical measure, disgraceful to the most savage nation. Their memorials were answered by the English, with some shew of reason. However, it must be owned, that as a declaration of war was a ceremony easily performed, it would have been more consistent

sistent with the honour of the ministry, to have pursued the usual methods of contest which had been long established in Europe. The truth is, that the ministry were now divided between peace and war; they saw the necessity of vigorous measures, but they were afraid to throw off the mask of peace entirely. Henry Pelham, who had long guided at the helm of affairs with candour and capacity, had for some time been dead, and his place supplied by Sir Thomas Robinson, who, though a sensible minister, and a favourite of the King, was of no great weight in council, and, consequently, soon under a necessity of resigning; and Mr. Fox was put in his place. The administration was also new formed, in other respects, by the taking in several other new members. Those who had long been in the ministry, were, it is thought, for peace; those, on the contrary, who were newly taken into the direction of affairs, expected to supplant their rivals by an opposite system, and were consequently for war. The leader of this party, therefore, warmly solicited for war, seconded by the justice of the cause, and the general voice of the people: those who opposed him expected to effect by negotiation whatever arms could achieve. Whatever might have been the motives for protracting the declaration, the French seemed to convince Europe of their moderation upon this attack by sea, by neither declaring war, nor making any reprisals by sea. However, they threatened England with a formidable invasion; several bodies of troops moved to the coasts adjacent to ours; their ministers threatened loudly in foreign courts; and such preparations were made as shewed a resolution of carrying the war into the heart of Great Britain. These preparations had
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the desired effect, filling the nation with consternation, turbulence, and clamour. The people saw themselves exposed without arms, leaders, or discipline, while the ministry were timid, unpopular, and wavering. In this situation the Dutch were applied to for six thousand men, which, by treaty they were to send England, in case of its being threatened with an invasion. Which demand, however, by affected delays, was put off so long, that the King, unwilling to come to an open rupture with the republic, desisted from it; for which they returned his Majesty thanks. Such are the advantages England is to expect, by relying on assistance from any other quarter, than its native strength and unanimity; and every day seems to convince us of the absurdity of political alliances, which are never observed, as wanting friendship to bind, or force to compel.

In this timid situation the ministry were eager to catch at any assistance; a body therefore of Hessians and Hanoverians, amounting to about ten thousand, were brought over to protect about as many millions of Englishmen, who, with swords in their hands, were able to defend themselves; but such was the vile complexion of this period, that the whole kingdom presented nothing but a picture of discontent, terror, and distrust of their leaders. The ministry was execrated for having reduced the nation to such circumstances of disgrace, as to be thought to stand in need of preservation from a few German mercenaries; but what could be expected from such a ministry, who were possessed neither of the arts, nor the integrity of government?

However, the French were by no means serious in this intended descent; their only design was to draw

draw off the attention of the English ministry from an expedition which was actually going forward against Minorca, an island in the Mediterranean, which we had formerly taken from Spain, and had been secured to us by repeated treaties. But the ministry of England were too much infected with the more domestic terror, to take sufficient precautions to guard this place, though they had early notice of the enemies intentions. Instead therefore of sufficiently guarding the island with a proper garrison in St. Philip's castle, the citadel, or of detaching a squadron that, in all respects, should be superior to the French fleet in the Mediterranean, they only sent ten men of war upon this service, poorly manned, and as indifferently provided, under the command of Admiral Byng, whose character in the navy was by no means established, and ordered a reinforcement of one battalion from Gibraltar for St. Philip's; this, however, the governor of that place thought it unsafe to comply with.

The Admiral sent upon this service reinforced his fleet by a detachment of men at Gibraltar; and, sailing towards Minorca, was joined in the way by another man of war, from whom he learned that Minorca was actually besieged, and the French fleet destined to support the operations by land. He soon knew the reality of this information, when, approaching the island, he saw the French banners displayed, and the batteries opened upon the castle of St. Philip's, which still displayed the English flag. The appearance of the French fleet, soon after, still more strongly engaged his attention; he drew up his ships in line of battle, and determined to act upon the defensive. Byng had been formerly thought to be eminent in naval operations, to which he was early bred, but he

he had hitherto exhibited no proofs of courage. Men are generally most apt to pride themselves upon those talents for which they are most praised; and this was the case with this unfortunate commander; he sacrificed his reputation for courage, to the hopes of being applauded for his conduct. The French fleet advanced; a part of the English fleet engaged; the Admiral still kept aloof, giving prudent reasons for his remissness in coming to action; till, at length, the French Admiral, taking the advantage of the Englishman's hesitation, sailed slowly away to join the van of his fleet, which had been already discomfited. The English, for a while, continued the pursuit; but the opportunity of coming to a close engagement was now lost, and never presented itself again.

Byng was still resolved to act with his usual caution; he called a council of war, wherein it was represented that he was much inferior to the enemy in ships and men; that the relief of Minorca was impracticable; and that it was most adviseable to sail back to Gibraltar, which might require immediate protection. This representation was almost universally agreed to, and put accordingly in execution. His pusillanimous conduct, however soon reached his native country, where it excited almost a phrenzy of resentment. The ministry were also thought to fan the flame, which served to turn the public eye from their own misconduct in sending so weak an armament. Byng, in the mean time, remained at Gibraltar, no way suspecting the storm that was gathering over his head; but talked, and wrote, even as if he expected the thanks of his King, and the applause of his countrymen; but he was soon awaked from this dream of infatuation, by a letter from the ministry, giving

giving him notice, that he was recalled ; and another soon after, by which directions were given that he should be sent home under arrest ; and, upon his arrival in England, he was committed close prisoner in Greenwich hospital. Numberless arts were used to inflame the populace against this unhappy man ; and, long before his trial, several addresses were sent up, from different counties, crying out for justice against the delinquent. The industry of his friends, however, was not remiss upon this occasion ; they expostulated with the multitude, and attempted to divert the whole of the universal hatred upon the ministry, who, at worst, only deserved a share. But, soon after the news of the surrender of fort St. Philip to the French, inflamed the people beyond all measure. This fortress had been reckoned, next to Gibraltar, the strongest in Europe, the works having been planned by the celebrated Vauban ; and, both from the nature of the soil, which was one solid rock, and the peculiarity of the situation, it was thought almost impregnable. In order to make themselves masters of this important fortress, the French, under the command of the Duke de Richlieu, had landed near twenty thousand men, which, by continual assault, and having at length, gained an outwork, made themselves masters of the place. The English governor, General Blakeney, however, had very honourable terms of capitulation, and marched out with all the ensigns of war. Yet, perhaps, in truth, the harder the conditions a garrison is obliged to accept, the more honourable to the commander, as they denote his extremity in being reduced to accept of them.

The English now saw themselves every where defeated ; in America their armies were cut to
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pieces; in Europe their garrisons taken; the people trembling under the dread of an invasion, a few mercenaries brought in for their defence, who in turn became formidable to the natives; all these circumstances concurred to exasperate the people; but there was no object on whom to wreak their vengeance, but the unhappy Byng, who, in a manner, was already devoted to destruction. War was now proclaimed with the usual solemnity, though it was now no other than a denunciation, after having struck the blow. The Hessians and Hanoverians were sent back to their own country, and the preparations were made for trying Admiral Byng in the usual form. On the twenty-eighth day of December his trial began before a Court-Martial, in the harbour of Portsmouth, where, after a scrutiny of several days, his judges came to a resolution, that he had not done his utmost, during the engagement to destroy the enemy, which it was his duty to have engaged. They therefore unanimously were of opinion, that he fell under the twelfth article of war, which positively ordered death to any person, who, in the time of action should withdraw, keep back, or not come into fight, or who should not do his utmost, through either motives of cowardice, negligence, or disaffection. He was therefore adjudged to be shot on board such ship as the Lords of the Admiralty should please to direct; but his Judges, at the same time, recommended him to mercy; as they could not tell the motives of his keeping aloof. By such a sentence they expected to have satisfied the national animosity against him, and yet to screen themselves from the consciousness of severity. Whatever the government might wish to do is uncertain; but the cry of vengeance was too loud
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to be disregarded: his Majesty therefore referred the sentence to the twelve judges, who were unanimously of opinion that the sentence was legal; wherefore the King resolved that he should suffer the severity of the law. Still, however, there was another attempt made to save him. One of those who had been his Judges at Portsmouth, and was also a member of the house of commons, informed that assembly, that he, as well as some others who had sat upon the Admiral's trial, desired to be released from the oath of secrecy imposed upon Courts-Martial, that they might disclose the grounds on which sentence of death had passed upon Admiral Byng, and, perhaps, discover such circumstances as might shew the sentence to be improper. To this the house paid little regard; but his Majesty thought fit to respite the execution, till the scruples of the Court-Martial should be more fully explained. A bill therefore passed the house of commons for releasing them from their oath; but when it came to be debated among the Lords, and after the members of the Court-Martial were examined touching their reasons, the Peers concluded they were insufficient for passing the bill; and it was rejected. The Admiral being thus abandoned to the stroke of justice, resolved at least by the bravery of his dying, in some measure, to shew the injustice of the imputation of his being a coward. He maintained to the last his natural serenity; and, on the day fixed for his execution, when the boats belonging to the fleet, being manned and armed attended this solemnity in the harbour, the Admiral advanced from the cabin, where he had been imprisoned, to the deck, the place appointed for execution, with a composed step, and resolute countenance. He then delivered a paper, contain-

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ing the following address: " A few moments will
" now deliver me from virulent persecution, and
" frustrate the malice of my enemies. Nor need I
" envy them a life subject to the sensations my
" injuries, and the injustice done me, must create.
" Persuaded I am, that justice will be done to my
" reputation hereafter. The manner and cause
" of raising and keeping up the popular clamour
" and prejudice against me, will be seen through.
" I shall be considered as a victim destined to di-
" vert the indignation and resentment of an injured
" and deluded people from their proper objects.
" My enemies themselves must now think me in-
" nocent. Happy for me, at this my last mo-
" ment, that I know my own innocence, and am
" conscious that no part of my country's misfor-
" tunes can be owing to me. I heartily wish the
" shedding my blood may contribute to the hap-
" piness and service of my country; but I cannot
" resign my just claim to a faithful discharge of
" my duty, according to the best of my judg-
" ment, and the utmost exertion of my ability for
" his Majesty's honour, and my country's service.
" I am sorry that my endeavours were not attend-
" ed with more success; and that the armament
" under my command proved too weak to suc-
" ceed in an expedition of such moment. Truth
" has prevailed over calumny and falsehood, and
" justice has wiped off the ignominious stain of
" my personal want of courage, and the charge
" of disaffection. My heart acquits me of these
" crimes; but who can be presumptuously sure of
" his own judgment? If my crime is an error of
" judgment, or differing in my opinion from my
" judges; and if yet the error of judgment should
" be on their side, God forgive them as I do;
" and

“ and may the distress of their minds, and uneasiness of their consciences, which, in justice to me, they have represented, be relieved, and subside, as my resentment has done. The supreme Judge sees all hearts and motives, and to him I submit the justice of my cause.” When he had delivered these words, he came forward, and resolved to die with his face uncovered; but, his friends representing that his looks might possibly intimidate the soldiers, and prevent their taking proper aim, he had his eyes bound with an handkerchief, and, kneeling upon the deck, the signal was given for the soldiers to fire, and he dropped dead instantly.

How far this unfortunate man was innocent, or culpable, we stand too near the transaction to judge; if he erred in point of judgment only, it might have been a proper cause for his dismissal; but it would have been cruelty to condemn him for it. Those who plead with the greatest vehemence against him, seem, however, at present, to bring their arguments from the necessity there was of making some one commander an example to give greater resolution to the rest, and from the good effects that seemed to attend his execution, by our repeated successes after it. These, however, are such reasons as may silence, but not satisfy; we must be contented therefore, to reflect tacitly upon this transaction, and to let posterity do the rest.

I am, &c.

LETTER

LETTER XXI.

EUROPE has often been compared to one republic obeying one law, namely, that of nations; and composed of provinces, each of which is prevented from becoming too great by the universal jealousy of the rest. A quarrel therefore between any two of these is apt to involve the whole in war; but, particularly, if the dispute happens to arise between those who are reckoned the leading powers in this assemblage of nations. A war begun between France and England, for a desert and trackless wild in the remote parts of Europe, seemed now spreading fast through the whole world; and the appearance of their commotions revived all the ancient jealousies and claims among the rest.

The French, at the breaking out of this new war, though they were successful at its commencement, were very sensible that they could not long hold their acquisitions against such a superiority as the English were possessed of at sea, and the numberless resources they had of assisting their colonies with all the necessaries for war. Being therefore apprised that a naval war must, in the end, turn out to their disadvantage, they made no scruple of declaring that they would revenge the injuries they sustained in their colonies, or by sea, upon the King of England's territories in Germany, which they secretly hoped would be a motive to his complying with their demands, or dividing the English forces, as they knew his affection for his native country. In these hopes they were not much disappointed; the court of London immediately, to secure the Electorate of Hanover, entered

tered into a treaty with the Empress of Russia, by which a body of fifty-five thousand men should be ready to act in the English service, in case Hanover should be invaded, for which the Russian Empress was to receive an hundred thousand pounds annually, to be paid in advance.

His Prussian Majesty had long considered himself as the guardian of the interests of Germany, and was startled at the treaty. This was Frederic III. a Prince adorned with all the arts of peace, and whom you have seen also acting as the most consummate General. He had learned to read men, by being himself bred in the school of adversity; and to love his subjects, by having experienced their attachment. He therefore took the first opportunity to declare, that he would not suffer any foreign forces to enter the empire, either as auxiliaries or principals. This consummate politician had, it seems, been already apprised of some secret negotiations between the Austrians, whom he looked upon as concealed enemies, and the Russians, for entering his dominions, and stripping him of the province of Silesia, which had been conceded to him in the last treaty of peace. His Britannic Majesty, whose fears for Hanover guided his present councils, now saw himself in the very situation he most dreaded, exposed to the resentments of France and Prussia, who could at once invade and over-run his Electorate, while his Russian allies lay at too great a distance to assist him. However, all he wished was to keep the enemy out of Germany; and this the King of Prussia made a profession of doing, as well as he. From the similitude of their intentions, therefore, these two Monarchs were induced to unite their interests; and, as they both only desired the same thing,

thing, they came to an agreement to assist each other mutually in keeping all foreign forces out of the Empire.

From this alliance both powers hoped to derive great advantages; the preserving the peace of Germany was the apparent good, but each had other peculiar benefits in view. The King of Prussia knew the Austrians to be his enemies, and the Russians to be in league with them against him; an alliance therefore with the court of London kept back the Russians whom he dreaded, and gave him hopes of taking an ample satisfaction of Austria, whom he suspected. As for France, he counted upon it as a natural ally, which, from the long and hereditary enmity with the Austrians, could not, by declaring against him, join them to whom they had such various reasons for political aversion. The Elector of Hanover, on the other hand, had still stronger expectations of the benefits that would arise from this alliance. He thus procured a near and powerful ally; an ally which he thought the French, in their present circumstances, would not venture to disoblige; he counted upon the Austrians as naturally attached to his interests by former services and friendship; and the Russians, at least, as likely to continue neuter, from their former stipulations and subsidy. Such were the motives to this alliance; but both were deceived in every particular. And though this alliance astonished Europe at that time, it soon produced another still more extraordinary. The Austrian Queen had long meditated designs for recovering Silesia, which, in her exigency, the King of Prussia had invaded, and expected the assistance of Russia, to effect her purposes. By this last treaty, however, she saw England joining with Prussia in
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frustrating her hopes ; and, deprived of one ally, sought about, in order to substitute another in the room. She therefore applied to France ; and, in order to procure the friendship of that power, gave up her barrier in the Netherlands, which England had been for ages acquiring with its blood and treasure. By this extraordinary revolution the whole political system of Europe assumed a new face, and it pretty clearly shews that events guide the politician, while the politician seldom guides events ; or, to use the words of Tacitus, there is but very little difference between the art and its futility.

In the mean time, this treaty between France and Austria, was no sooner ratified, than the Empress of Russia was invited to accede to it ; which proposal she ardently embraced. By concurring with their proposals, Russia had another opportunity of sending her forces into the western parts of Europe, which was all she had hoped by the subsidiary treaty with England. A settlement in the western parts of Europe was what this fierce northern power long wanted an opportunity of obtaining ; for, possessed of that, she could then pour in fresh forces at any time upon the more effeminate and contending states ; and, perhaps, at length, obtain universal Empire. The intrigues of France were also successfully employed with Sweden. A war between that nation and Prussia was kindled up, though contrary to the inclination of their Sovereign, who had the natural motives of kindred for being averse to that measure.

Thus all the alliances which England had long been purchasing upon the continent, and many of the treaties which she had been long making, with

all the bustle of negotiation, seemed now destroyed. The forces of the contending powers therefore, now drawn out on each side, stood thus: England opposed France in America and Asia; France attacked Hanover on the continent of Europe. This country the King of Prussia undertook to protect, while England promised to furnish him with troops and money to assist his operations. On the other hand, Austria had designs upon Prussia, and drew the Elector of Saxony into the same pursuits; she was also seconded in her views by Russia, Sweden, and France, while the rest of the powers of Europe continued spectators of the contention.

These designs of Austria, for the recovery of her lost dominions, were too apparent not to be early discovered by so vigilant and penetrating a Monarch as that of Prussia; he saw that preparations were making against him by that power in Bohemia and Moravia, while the Elector of Saxony, under the pretence of military parade, drew together about sixteen thousand men, which occupied the strong fortress of Pirna. The secret treaty also between the courts of Russia and Austria did not escape his penetration: by this it was privately stipulated, that the treating powers should, in case of apprehending any breach of the present peace, unite against Prussia, and share the dominions of that crown between them. This he considered as an offensive alliance; the treating powers alleged, that it was only defensive. As preparations for war, however, were carrying on with the utmost diligence on either side; the King of Prussia, in order to be confirmed in what he already suspected, ordered his minister at Vienna to demand a clear explication, and proper assurances

concerning the preparations he saw making. He at first received an equivocal answer; but, ordering his minister to demand a categorical reply, whether the Empress Queen was for peace or war; and to require a positive assurance, that she had no intention to attack him that year, or the next; an ambiguous answer was returned to so plain a question, which undoubtedly manifested an inclination for war. He therefore thought proper no longer to suspend his operations, but to carry the war into the enemies country, rather than to wait for it in his own. He entered with a large army into Saxony, and, in the usual strain of civility, demanded from the Elector a passage through that country, which he well knew the possessor of it was not able to refuse. In the mean time, he disguised all his suspicions of the Elector's having secretly treated with his enemies; and, upon the latter's proposing to observe a strict neutrality, the King of Prussia professed himself extremely pleased at the offer; but desired, as a proof of the sincerity of his intentions, to separate the army of the Electorate, for which there could possibly be no occasion, in case of the neutrality proposed. This, however, the Elector of Saxony thought it prudent to refuse, which was probably what the other eagerly desired; for, in consequence of his refusal, the King formed a kind of blockade about the Saxon camp, in order to reduce it by famine; for such was the situation of this spot, on which the Saxons had encamped, that though a small army could defend it against the most numerous forces, yet the same difficulty attended leaving it, that served to render it inaccessible to an enemy. Of this his Prussian Majesty took the advantage; and, by blocking up every place of egress, thus cut off
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their provisions, and the whole body was obliged to surrender prisoners of war.

In a detail of the transactions of England it will not be necessary to recapitulate the numerous marches, victories, sieges, and repulses of this great foreign ally. Whatever either former history had shewn, or even romance might feign, was outdone both by his expedition and intrepidity. King only of a very small territory, assisted by England, whose situation was too remote to give any considerable succours, opposed and surrounded by all the most formidable powers of Europe, he still opposed them on every side; he invades Bohemia, defeats the Austrian General at Lowositz, retreats, begins his second campaign with another victory near Prague, is upon the point of taking that city, but by a temerity inspired by former successes, attacking the Austrians at a disadvantage near Kolin, he is defeated, and obliged to raise the siege: *Fortune, says he, has turned her back upon me this day. I ought to have expected it; she is a female, and I am no gallant; success often occasions a destructive confidence; but another time we will do better.*

One misfortune seemed to follow another; the Hanoverians, who had joined with him and England, in the alliance, had armed in his favour, commanded by the Duke of Cumberland. As this army, which consisted of thirty-seven battalions, and thirty-four squadrons, was greatly out-numbered by the French, they were obliged continually to retire before them. The passage of the river Weser might have been disputed with some hopes of success; yet the Hanoverians permitted them to pass it unmolested. Their army, therefore, was now driven from one part of the

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country

country to another, until at length, it made a stand near a village called Hastenback, within a few miles of Hammelen, where it was judged they would be best able to sustain the superiority of the enemy's numbers. However, notwithstanding all the efforts of discipline, and the advantages of situation, the weaker side was still obliged to retire; and, leaving the field of battle to the French, retreated towards Stade. By taking this route they marched into a country, from whence they could neither procure provisions, nor yet had an opportunity of attacking the enemy upon equal terms. Unable, by their situation, to retire, or, by their strength, to advance, they were compelled to sign a capitulation, by which the whole army laid down their arms, and were dispersed into different quarters of cantonment. By this remarkable treaty, which went by the name of the treaty of Closter Seven, the Hanoverians were quite subdued, and all the French forces let loose upon the King of Prussia.

The situation of this Monarch was now become desperate; nor could human prudence foresee how he could extricate himself from his distress. The French forces, now united, invaded his dominions on one side; the Russians, who, for some time, had hovered over his dominions in another part, all at once hastened on to overwhelm him, marking their way with slaughter and cruelty; a large body of Austrians entered Silesia, and penetrated as far as Breslau, and turning to Schweidnitz, sat down before that important fortress, which after a long siege, surrendered. Another army of the same nation entered Lusatia, made themselves masters of Zittau, and pressing forward, laid the capital of Berlin under contribution.

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Twenty-two thousand Swedes pierced into Prussian Pomerania, took the towns of Anclam and Demmein, and exacted tribute from the whole country. It was in vain that the King of Prussia faced about to every invader, though his enemies fled before him, while he pursued one body, another penetrated his territories in the mean time; and his dominions, even in the midst of victory, were every day contracting. The greatest part were either taken or laid under contribution, and possessed by his enemies; and he was left without any alliance or assistance, but what the British parliament might think proper to afford.

These succours could, at best, have been, for some time, but ineffectual; however, it was resolved by the English ministry, that something should be done, and accordingly an enterprize was planned against the French coast, which, by drawing off their attention from their German enemies, might give the latter kingdom time to respire, and call off a part of the French to the defence of their own. Besides this intention, England also hoped to be able to give a blow to their marine, by destroying such ships as were laid up, or building in the harbour of Rochfort, the city against which this expedition was destined. The English ministry had kept that object of their operations a profound secret; and France was filled with alarms, until at length, it was found that the fleet appeared before Rochfort, where it spent some time in deliberating upon what manner to proceed. At last it was resolved to secure the little island of Aix, an easy conquest, which, while performing, the militia of the country had time to assemble, and there was an appearance of two camps upon the shore. The commanders there-
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fore, who, by the badness of the weather, were, at first, prevented from landing, now feared equal danger from the numbers of the enemy which were to oppose them. They took into consideration the badness of the coast, the danger of landing, the time the city had to prepare for a vigorous defence, and their own unfitness for any other methods to reduce it but that of a sudden attack. This consideration induced them to desist from further operations; and they unanimously resolved to return home, without making any attempt. Nothing could equal the discontent of the English upon seeing this expedition, of which they had conceived such expectations, return unsuccessful. It produced, as usual, a contest between those who planned, and those who were sent to execute it. The military men represented it as useless and rash; the ministers exclaimed at the timidity and delays of those from whose vigour success was to be expected. A Court of Enquiry censured the commander; but a Court-Martial acquitted him. This, like almost all the former operations, served to embitter party, and increase despondence. A great man was even heard to say, upon a very solemn occasion, that he believed the commanders of every military operation were resolved upon doing nothing. The tumult of the people was now sunk from turbulent clamour into sullen discontent; they saw only gloomy prospects on every side, their armies destroyed, their fleets unactive, their expeditions ridiculous, and the only ally they had left in Europe, that would fight their battles, upon the point of being overwhelmed by superiority of numbers. Such were the beginnings of this war, from which the timid foreboded national servitude, and a total destruction of all maritime

time power, and even the most sanguine only hoped for a peace that might restore them to former equality.

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L E T T E R XXII.

IN the beginning of the year 1758, after the many losses the nation had suffered through the ill conduct or incapacity of the commanders employed, it was resolved, that we ought to make the destruction of the French marine our great object, and to consider all continental operations only in a secondary light. In consequence of this resolution two powerful squadrons by the latter end of May, were in readiness for sailing. The greater under lord Anson, the smaller under commodore Howe, which was so designed to convoy the transports, and to favour the landing and re-imbarkment. France was now in the utmost terror from the apprehensions she had conceived of this formidable armament, and as she knew not what part of her coasts they would make a descent on, she was rendered incapable of providing against the approaching storm. The land forces of this armament consisted of sixteen battalions, and nine troops of light horse, and were commanded by the Duke of Marlborough. On the first of June they sailed from Portsmouth; but as soon as the fleet set sail, the squadron of Lord Anson separated from the rest, and bore off to the bay of Biscay, in order to spread the alarm more widely, and to observe the French squadron in

in Brest. The other part of the fleet, which was commanded by commodore Howe, with the transports, arrived in Cancalle bay, at a small distance from the city of St. Maloes. Here the troops landed without opposition, and having fortified a post near Cancalle, (a post by nature well fitted for defence,) for the security of their retreat, they marched in two columns to St. Maloes. When the army arrived there, it was soon visible, that the town, strongly situated on a peninsula, communicating with the main land only by a long and narrow cause-way, was by no means a proper object of a *coup de main*; and though for want of outworks, it was ill-qualified to sustain a regular siege, yet our forces were, for want of strength and artillery sufficient, altogether as ill-qualified for such an operation. They were, therefore, contented with setting fire to about an hundred sail of shipping, many of them privateers, which lay under the cannon of the town, and to several magazines filled with naval stores. Having nothing more to do on this side, they retired to Cancalle; and re-imbarked with as little opposition as they met with at landing; the land and sea commanders having made all the dispositions with great judgment.

They reconnoitred the town of Granville, on the coast of Normandy, before the fleet returned; but finding that a large body of troops were encamped in the neighbourhood, they made no attempt there. From thence they moved towards Cherbourg, and made the proper dispositions for landing near that place; but a hard gale blowing into the shore, and the transports beginning to fall foul of each other, it became extremely hazardous to attempt landing. Besides, the provision was near exhausted, and the soldiers, by being so
long

long cooped up in the transports, were grown sickly. It became, therefore, necessary to return home, and they arrived at St. Helen's on the 29th of June.

The success of this expedition, by which the French suffered largely, with scarce any loss on our side, although it sufficiently answered the intention of the armament, fell somewhat short of the expectations of the public, who had formed much greater hopes than it was possible for the nature of such enterprizes to fulfil. In general, they are seldom satisfied but with relations of scenes of slaughter, in which humanity suffers, and compassion bleeds: they attend but little to those nicer movements of armies and fleets, by which all the important advantages are derived that can possibly result from the most bloody engagements. However, their hopes were again revived, by seeing that every thing was prepared for another expedition, and that our fleets and armies were to be kept in constant action during the summer. The time was now come when we were to turn the tables upon France, and to retaliate by real attacks, the terrors which had been raised by her menaces of an invasion. The Duke of Marlborough, had now taken the command of the English forces in Germany; and General Bligh succeeded him in this command. Prince Edward resolved to go upon the expedition, and to form himself for the service of his country under so brave and able a commander as Howe. It is easy to imagine, how much the spirit, the presence, and example of the gallant young prince, who went with the utmost cheerfulness through all the detail of a midshipman's duty, inspired both the seamen and the troops.

The fleet set sail from St. Helen's, on the first of August, and in a few days anchored before Cherbourg. The French had drawn a line, strengthened by forts, along the most probable places for landing. They had drawn down three regiments of regular troops, and a considerable body of militia to the shore, and had in all appearance threatened a very resolute opposition to the descent of the English forces. But the commodore disposed the men of war, and bomb-ketches so judiciously, and kept up so sharp a fire upon the enemy, that they never ventured out of their entrenchments; so that the landing was effected in excellent order, and with very little loss. The French, who made so poor an opposition to the landing, had still many advantages from the nature of the ground which they occupied; but they neglected them all; and abandoning their forts and lines on the coast, they suffered the English to enter Cherbourg the day after the landing, without throwing the least obstacle in their way.

Cherbourg is on the land side an open town; neither is it very strongly defended towards the sea. The harbour is naturally bad: but the place is well situated, in the midst of the channel, for protecting the French, and annoying the English commerce in time of war, and perhaps, for facilitating an invasion on England. Monsieur Belidor the famous engineer, had demonstrated its importance, and proposed a plan for the improvement and defence of the harbour, as well as for the fortifications of the town. This plan was approved, and partly put in execution by the building of a mole, digging a basin, and making sluices and flood-gates with excellent materials, and at a
vast

vast expence. The work had been for a considerable time discontinued ; but in this expedition, that work of so great ingenuity, charge, and labour, was totally destroyed. Whilst our humanity regrets the unhappy necessity of war, we cannot help thinking that the English nation was freed by the success of this expedition, from what might one day be cause of no trivial alarms.

When this work of destruction was over, all the vessels in the harbour burned, and hostages taken for the contributions levied on the town, the forces re-embarked with great speed and safety, without any interruption from the enemy ; the army having continued ten days unmolested in France.

When the fleet left Cherbourg, it was driven to the coast of England, but the troops were not disembarked ; it was resolved, that the coast of France should have no respite ; and accordingly they sailed towards St. Maloes, and landed in the bay of St. Lunar, at a small distance from the town of St. Maloes. This choice of a place for landing, must necessarily have surprised all those who remembered upon what reasons the attempt against that place had been so recently laid aside. There was no other object of sufficient consideration near it. The town was at least in as good a posture of defence as it had been then ; and the force which was to attack it had since then been considerably lessened.

No sooner were the troops landed, than it became evident that the design against St. Maloes, was utterly impracticable. Other projects were then proposed, but they seemed equally liable to objection. Whilst they debated concerning a plan for their operations, the fleet was in the greatest danger.

danger. The bay of St. Lunar is extremely rocky; and the experience of the people of the country, together with what the commodore saw himself, convinced him, that it was impossible to remain any longer in this road with tolerable safety: he therefore moved up to the bay of St. Cas, about three leagues to the westward.

The fleet was separated from the land forces; but it was still easy to preserve a communication between them; and as no attack was yet apprehended, they made no scruple to penetrate farther into the country. In two days they arrived at the village of Matignon, having had several skirmishes with small bodies of the enemy, who from time to time appeared on their flanks, and who always disappeared when they were briskly encountered. By this time the Duke d'Aiguillon, governor of Brittany, was advanced within six miles of the English army, with a body of twelve battalions and six squadrons of regular troops, and two regiments of militia. This determined the council of war to retreat; they wanted but three miles to the bay of St. Cas. But in this little march a considerable time was consumed, and the French army was close upon them, before they could be completely re-embarked. A very steep hill formed a sort of amphitheatre about the bay of St. Cas, where the embarkation was making; but before the last division, which consisted of all the grenadiers of the army, and the first regiment of guards, could get off, the French had marched down this hill, through an hollow way, and formed themselves in a long line against the few English troops that remained. In this exigency, there was only the expedient of assuming a bold countenance, and attacking them with vigour.

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The bravery of our troops on this desperate occasion, was worthy of a better fortune. The ships and frigates seconded their efforts, and made a severe fire upon the enemy. But all was to no purpose; their ammunition was at last spent; the enemies numbers prevailed; our little body attempted to retreat, but they fell into confusion, they broke, an horrible slaughter followed, many ran into the water, and met their fate in that element. The shore was covered with dead bodies. General Dury was drowned. Sir John Armitage, a young volunteer of great fortune and hopes, was shot through the head. Several officers, men of large fortune and consideration, fell. At length, the firing of the frigates ceased, and the French immediately gave quarter. About four hundred men were made prisoners, and six hundred killed and wounded.

In the midst of this carnage, in the midst of a fire that staggered the bravest seamen who managed the boats, Commodore Howe exhibited a noble example of intrepidity and fortitude, by ordering himself to be rowed in his own boat through the thickest of the fire, to encourage all that were engaged in that service, and to bring off as many men as his vessel could carry.

This affair dispirited the people of England, and elated the people of France, far more than an affair of so little consequence ought to have done. It was, in fact, no more than cutting off a rear guard. There is often more bloodshed in skirmishes in Germany, which we scarce hear any thing of, or pay the least attention to. And certainly if our expeditions to the coast of France, were planned with any judgment, on our part, we had rather reason to congratulate ourselves, that

that we were able to land three times on that coast, with so inconsiderable a loss. The French, indeed, had reason to magnify this loss; and they did greatly magnify it, in order to console their people, who had seen their trade suffer so much, and their country so long insulted with impunity.

But this is not the only loss we sustained about this time. In America our armies had frequently been defeated; the King of Prussia's affairs seemed to be but in an indifferent situation; and by the convention of Closter Seven, the Hanoverians had no power to act, so as to make a diversion in favour of that monarch. In a word, despondence and dejection seemed to reign among our people, and reproaches and altercations, took the place of unanimity and vigorous measures.

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L E T T E R XXIII.

SUCH was the ill success of the English arms, and of their allies, at the beginning of this war. Every day the press teemed with productions which either reproached their cowardice, or foreboded their undoing. Yet still the hopes of the parliament rose with their disappointments, and every resource seemed to augment with their expences. Though the supplies for this destructive and hitherto shameful war, were enormous, yet they were raised as soon as granted. The officers of the army seemed roused into vigour by the national reproaches. Asia, however, was the country

try in which success first began to dawn upon the British interest, and where we first learned the art of again conquering the enemy. A war in Europe could not be proclaimed between the two great powers, without being felt in the remotest parts of the globe. This immense tract of country, which was the theatre of an Asiatic war, comprehends the whole peninsula of India Proper. On the coasts of this great territory, the English, the French, and several other powers of Europe, had built forts, with the original consent of the Mogul, who claims the sovereignty of the whole Empire. Whatever his right may be to this dominion, his power is scarce felt or acknowledged in many of the remoter provinces; and even the Governors or Nabobs, who were originally of his appointment, have rendered themselves independent, and exert an absolute dominion over their respective territories, without acknowledging his superiority, either by tribute or homage. In the contests of these Princes, therefore, instead of having recourse to the Mogul for redress, they apply to the European powers, whom they can either purchase or persuade to assist them. The war between England and France, in these remote parts, first began by each power's siding with two contending Nabobs, and thus, by degrees, becoming principles in the dispute. The success, on each side, for some time after the treaty of Aix la Chapelle, seemed doubtful, until at length, the affairs of the English seemed to gain the ascendancy by the courage and conduct of Mr. Clive, a gentleman who first entered into the service of the company as a clerk, but soon shewed his talents more adapted for war. By his vigilance and courage the province of Arcot was cleared of the enemy, the French

General

General taken prisoner, and the Nabob, whom the English supported, reinstated in the government of which he had been formerly deprived. The French, discouraged by these misfortunes, and sensible of their own inferiority in this part of the world, sent over a commissary with a view to restore peace; and a convention between the two companies was accordingly concluded, importing, that the territories taken on either side since the last peace should be mutually restored; that the Nabobs advanced by the influence of either party, should be acknowledged by both; and that, for the future, neither should interfere in the differences between the Princes of the country. This cessation, however, was not of long duration; compacts made between trading companies can never be of long continuance, when there is a prospect of advantage to either side from their infraction. In a few months after both sides renewed their operations, no longer as auxiliaries but as rivals in arms and commerce. What the motives to this infraction were are not sufficiently known; wherever there is trade there must be a degree of avarice; and that is a passion too often the parent of injustice and cruelty. Certain it is that the Viceroy of Bengal, from motives of personal resentment, declared against the English; and, levying a numerous army, laid siege to Calcutta, one of their forts, which was in no situation to endure the attack even of barbarians. It was taken by assault; and the garrison, to the number of one hundred and forty-six persons, were crowded into a narrow prison called the *Black Hole*, about eighteen feet square, without any entrance for air, except by two iron windows to the west, which, by no means, afforded a sufficient quantity for the supporting

porting life in such numbers. In such a burning climate it is terrible to conceive the situation of wretches thus immured and suffocating each other. Their first effort, upon finding the danger of their horrid confinement, was to break open the door; but this being impossible, they endeavoured to excite the compassion or the avidity of the guard, by offering him a large sum of money for his assistance, in removing them to separate prisons, with which he was not able to comply, as the Viceroy was asleep, and no person durst disturb him. They were now therefore left without all hopes of relief to perish, and the whole prison was filled with groans, shrieks, contest and confusion. This turbulence soon after sunk into languor and despair; and towards morning all was horrid silence and desolation. Of an hundred and forty-six who had entered alive, but twenty-three only survived, and of these several died by putrid fevers upon their being set free.

The reduction of this important fortress served to interrupt the prosperous successes of the English company; but the fortune of Mr. Clive still vanquished every obstacle; a fleet under the command of Admiral Watson, conspired with his efforts, and helped him in his victories. Angria, a piratical Prince, who had long annoyed the company's settlements in the neighbourhood of Bombay, first felt the weight of our naval power. This Prince maintained a large number of galleys, with which he would attack the largest ships, when he found a proper opportunity; and, by this means, he exacted a tribute from every European power for a permission to trade. To subdue such a dangerous enemy to commerce, Admiral Watson and Colonel Clive sailed into his harbour of Geriah, through

though they sustained a warm fire as they passed, and soon threw all his fleet and his fort into flames. The next day the fort surrendered at discretion, where the conquerors found a large quantity of warlike stores, and effects, to the value of one hundred and thirty thousand pounds.

From this conquest Mr. Clive went on to take revenge for the treatment of the English at Calcutta, and about the beginning of December arrived at Balasore, in the kingdom of Bengal. There was but small opposition made to the fleet, or the army, until they came before Calcutta, the scene of former cruelty; but as soon as the Admiral, with two ships, arrived before the town, he received a furious fire from all the batteries. This, however, he returned with still greater execution, and, in less than two hours, the place was abandoned. Thus, by the conquest of this and the former fortresses, the English became possessed of the two strongest settlements on the banks of the Ganges. Soon after these successes, Hugly, a city of great trade was reduced with as little difficulty, and all the Viceroy of Bengal's store-houses and granaries were destroyed. This barbarous Prince, incensed at these losses, assembled an army of ten thousand horse, and fifteen thousand foot, fully resolved to expel the English out of his dominions. Upon the first intelligence of his march, Colonel Clive begged from the Admiral a reinforcement of men from the ships; and six hundred seamen were accordingly soon added to his little army. The numerous forces of the Viceroy of Bengal appeared, and Colonel Clive advanced in three columns to attack him. But, though the forces were seemingly disproportioned, with respect to number, the victory soon declared in favour of the English commander.

mander. In fact, what could the timid Asiatic soldier do against European troops, hardened by war, and inured to all the vicissitudes of climate. All the customs, habits, and opinions of the Asiatics tend to enfeeble the body, and enervate the mind. When we conceive a body of men led up to the attack, dressed in long silk garments, with no other courage but that inspired by opium; with no other fears from defeat but that of changing their mode of slavery; their chief commander mounted on an elephant, and consequently a more conspicuous object for aim; their artillery drawn by oxen, impatient and furious upon the slightest wound; every soldier utterly unacquainted with that cool intrepidity which provides against danger, and only taught to fight by the same arts that raise their passions: if we consider all these circumstances, it will be no way surprising if one or two thousand Europeans should easily vanquish thirty thousand Indians. And all the heroism of a Cyrus, or an Alexander, in gaining such disproportioned victories, will no longer be the subject of admiration.

A victory so easily acquired by a foreign enemy, soon rendered the Viceroy of Bengal contemptible to his subjects at home. His present cowardice rendered him despicable; his former insolence and cruelty, odious. A conspiracy was projected against him by Jaffier Aly Cawn, his prime minister, and the English having private intimations of the design, resolved to seize the opportunity of seconding it with all their endeavours. Accordingly, Colonel Clive marched forward, took the town of Cutwa in his march, and soon came up with the Viceroy's army; and, after a short contest, put the whole to flight, with terrible slaughter. Aly Cawn, who had

had first incited his master to this undertaking had hitherto concealed his attachments, either through fear or perfidy; but after this victory, he openly espoused the cause of the English, and was therefore solemnly proclaimed Viceroy of Bengal, Bahar, and Oriza, in the room of the former Viceroy, who was as solemnly deposed, and soon after put to death by his successor. The new Viceroy was not insensible of the gratitude he owed the English, for their assistance in his promotion. He granted liberally all their demands, satisfied them even to the most extended wish of avarice, and took every method to demonstrate his pride in their alliance.

Yet not the Indians alone, but the French also, submitted to Colonel Clive's affiduity and courage, seconded by the endeavours of the Admirals Watson and Pocock. Chadenagore, a French settlement higher up the river than Calcutta, of great strength, and the most important of any possessed by that nation in the bay of Bengal, submitted to the English arms. The goods and money found in the place were considerable; but the chief damage the French sustained was, in the ruin of their head settlement on the Ganges, by which they had long divided the commerce of this part of India. Thus, in one campaign, the English, in some measure, became possessors of an immense tract of country, superior in wealth, fertility, extent, and number of inhabitants, to many of Europe. Above two millions sterling were paid to the company and sufferers at Calcutta; the soldiers and seamen shared six hundred thousand pounds, and the English forces became too formidable for resistance. Yet, perhaps, this remote power will, one day, either serve to drain from the mother-country all
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its useful hands, or our victories will serve to teach the native barbarians to avail themselves of their numbers, and, by being frequently defeated, they will, at last, learn to conquer.

The success of the English was not a little alarming to the French ministry at home; and it is believed, that even the Dutch entertained some jealousy of their growing greatness. A considerable reinforcement was therefore sent from France, under the command of General Lally, an Irishman, who was reckoned one of the bravest, yet the most whimsical man in the French service. He had been, from his earliest years, bred a soldier of fortune, and carried the military spirit of honour to its utmost limits. Under his guidance, the French affairs seemed, for some time, to wear a better face; he took fort St. David's, plundered a town belonging to the King of Tanjour, in alliance with the English, and after laid siege to his capital. Failing in his design upon this city, he entered the province of Arcot, and prepared for laying siege to Madras, the chief settlement of our company, upon the coast of Coromandel. In the siege of this important fortress, a greater variety of difficulties presented than he had expected. The artillery of the garrison was well managed, while, on the other side, the French acted with the utmost timidity; it was in vain that their commander exhorted them to proceed, though a breach was made, and lay open for fifteen days, not one of them dared to venture out to the assault. Beside this, they were ill supplied with provisions; and the arrival of a reinforcement in the garrison soon after, served to banish all hopes of success. After a brisk fire, they raised the siege; and this miscarriage so entirely depressed the ardor of the enemy,

enemy, that they appeared quite dispirited in almost every ensuing engagement. In this manner, therefore, their affairs went on declining, not less by land than by sea. There were several engagements between the two fleets, in which the French, though superior in number of ships and men, always declined a decisive engagement.

But the French were not the only enemies the English had to fear in this part of the world; the jealousy of the Dutch was excited by our repeated success, and the late extension of our power. As this dispute, however trifling it may seem, may, one day, be of greater consequence than it appears at present, I shall be more particular in my relation of it.

Under a pretence of reinforcing the garrisons in Bengal, the Dutch equipped an armament of seven ships, which was ordered to sail up the Ganges; and render their fort, at a place called Chincura, so formidable, as to be able to bid defiance to the power of Britain, and thus secure to themselves the trade for salt-petre, which this place afforded. This design, however, Colonel Clive thought incumbent on him, if possible, to defeat; and sending the Dutch commander a letter, he informed him, that he could not permit his landing, and marching forces to Chincura. To this message the Dutchman replied, that he had no such designs as were imputed to him; and he only begged liberty to land his troops to refresh them; a request which was readily granted. He made these concessions, however, only until he knew that the ships which were to second his operations were come up the river, and then, throwing off the mask, he began his march to Chincura, and took several small vessels belonging to the English, to retaliate
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for the affront he pretended to have sustained, in being denied permission to proceed. Whether, upon this occasion, the Calcutta Indiaman was sent out to interrupt their progress, or was only pursuing its way homeward, is not clearly known; but certain it is, that the Dutch commander threatened to sink it, if it presumed to pass him. The English captain seeing them point their guns, as if they really resolved to put their threats in execution, returned to Calcutta, where two other India ships lay at anchor, and reported his adventure to Colonel Clive, who instantly ordered the three Indiamen to prepare for battle. The Dutch fleet were not remiss in advancing to meet them. After a few broadsides, however, the Dutch commodore struck, and the rest of his fleet followed the example. The victory being thus obtained, without any loss to the English, captain Wilson, who commanded in the expedition, took possession of the prizes, which had greatly suffered, and the crews were sent prisoners to the English fort. In the mean time their land forces, which amounted to eleven hundred men, were totally defeated by Colonel Ford, sent upon that duty by Clive. A considerable part were killed, and the rest were made prisoners of war. During this contest, the Nabob preserved a suspicious neutrality, ready, as it should seem, to join with the conquerors. Fortune, however, no sooner determined in favour of the English, than he offered them his services, and professed himself ready to demolish the Dutch fortification of Chircura. This contest was represented in very different lights to the respective governments at home; the Dutch declaimed against the English, oppressing all who attempted to trade in their Indies; while the English, on the
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the other hand, reminded the Dutch of their former cruelties, and of their desire of gain, even at the expence of every moral obligation. However, soon after a negotiation ensued; the Dutch wisely gave way to a power they were unable to withstand. A treaty was concluded, and peace was restored, seemingly to the satisfaction of both parties. Such is the present situation of this contest, which, probably, contains the seeds of future dissension. The Dutch will, upon all occasions, think it allowable to increase their power in India to whatsoever pitch they think proper; and the English will ever find it their interest to repel them. It may thus happen, that the amity of these two powers in Europe will not be sufficient to preserve unanimity in so distant a part of the world. In this manner, while Great Britain puts an end to one war, she often lays the foundation for another; for, extended empire ever produces an increasing necessity to defend it.

Our success against the French on the coast of Coromandel, was not less conspicuous: our troops were headed by Colonel Coote, a native of Ireland, a man of prudence and bravery; he marched against General Lally, took the city of Wandewash in his way, reduced Carangoly, a fortress commanded by Colonel O'Kennedy; and, at length, came up with the French General, who was equally desirous of the engagement. It is remarkable enough, that the commanders, on either side, were countrymen; but this did not, in the least, abate their attachment to the different crowns they served. In the morning early, the French advanced within three quarters of a mile of the English line, and the cannonading began with great fury

on both sides ; the engagement continued with much obstinacy until about two in the afternoon, when the French gave way, and fled towards their camp ; which, however, they as quickly abandoned, and left their cannon, and the field of battle, to the conquerors. Their losing the city of Arcot was the consequence of this victory ; and nothing now remained to them of all their vast possessions in India but Pondicherry, their strongest, largest, and most beautiful settlement in that part of the world. This capital of the French Indian power, in the days of its prosperity, exceeded all other European settlements there, in trade, opulence, and splendor ; and was still the repository for all the French wealth, which remained after repeated defeats. As soon as the fortresses adjacent to this important place were reduced, Colonel Coote sat down before it, resolved upon the blockade by land, while Admiral Stevens shut up their harbour by sea. A regular siege was, at that time, impracticable, from the periodical rains which, in that climate, were soon expected to obstruct such operations. These disadvantages were even sufficient to repress any attempts whatsoever ; but, notwithstanding the inclemency of the climate, the English commander continued before the place for full seven months. Neither rains nor storms were, in the least, able to abate their assiduity ; they continued the siege, and pressed the garrison in such a manner, that they were reduced to the most extreme distress. Lally, however, was resolutely bent on suffering every calamity, rather than yield this last stake of French power in India, though his soldiers were obliged to feed on dogs and cats, and even bought such wretched provisions extremely dear, (eight crowns

having been given for the flesh of a dog) yet still he determined to hold out. In the midst of this distress, fortune seemed to give an opportunity of relief, had it been properly seconded. In the beginning of January, one of those terrible storms, which are common in those climates, but of whose violence we can have but little idea in Europe, wrecked a large part of the English fleet that was blocking up the harbour of Pondicherry. This was a blow, which once more elevated the hopes of the despairing garrison. The General now flattered himself with the hope of being supplied with provisions; and, once more, animated his soldiers, long sunk with disease, famine, fatigue, and uninterrupted adversity. He immediately wrote to one of the French residents at a Dutch settlement for instant assistance; his eager impatience appears in the letters he sent. *The English Squadron is no more, Sir. Of the twelve ships they had in our roads, seven are lost, crews and all; the other four dismasted, and no more than one frigate hath escaped—lose not an instant in sending boats after boats loaded with rice.—The saving of Pondicherry hath been in your power once already; this opportunity neglected, the fault will be all yours. Offer great rewards.—In four days I expect seventeen thousand Morattoes.—In short, risque all, attempt all, force all, and send us some rice, should it be but half a garse at a time.* This singular letter, however, was intercepted; and, in less than four days, he had the mortification to behold Admiral Stevens again appearing in the harbour, who had repaired his losses with all possible celerity; and the blockade now became as complete as ever. Still, however, he made no proposal to surrender; the siege was carried on by his countryman with redoubled

redoubled alacrity; and, at length, he found his troops half consumed with fatigue and famine, a breach made in the rampart, and not more than one day's provision of any kind remaining. He was now reduced to an extremity that would admit of no hesitation; a signal was therefore made to cease hostilities; the principal of the Jesuits, together with two civilians, came out, and offered terms of capitulation. Lally, however, could not be prevailed upon to offer any terms; he sent a paper, filled with reproaches, against the English, to Colonel Coote; and alleged, that he would not treat with an enemy upon the honourable terms of war, who had already forfeited his honour in several instances. He therefore suffered the English troops to take possession of the place, but refused to surrender it in the usual forms. This conquest terminated the power of France in India; the whole trade of that vast peninsula, from the Indus to the Ganges, became our own. The Princes of the country knew the English force, and learned to fear it. Since that time nothing considerable has been done against us. Our East-India company have become the arbiters of Empire. The Mogul himself has been defeated, and taken prisoner. The British Empire begins to vie even with that of ancient Rome; the extent of its dominions on land is as wide, and its force at sea is infinitely greater. Happy, if we know when to bound our successes! happy, if we can distinguish between victories and advantages! if we can be convinced, that when a nation shines brightest with conquest, it may then, like a wasting taper, be only hastening to decay.

I am, &c.

L E T T E R XXIV.

VICTORY, which thus first dawned upon us, from the East, seemed to extend even to Europe and America. But some steps led to these successes which had been long wished for; and, at length, were effected. The affairs of war were directed by a ministry, which seemed utterly unequal to the weight and importance of such a charge; they were but feebly held together among each other, and clamoured against by the united voice of the people. It had long been their method to rule by party; and, surrounding the throne, it was said, they attempted only to fill the royal ear with whatever suggestions they thought most to their interests. When any new measure was proposed, which could not receive their approbation; or any new member was introduced into government, whom they did not nominate, it was their method to throw up their places with a secret view of resuming them with greater lustre. Thus all hope of preferment was to be expected only from them; public favours were conferred only for private services; they were thought to govern in the senate and in the field; the strength of the crown was actually declining; that of the people was scarce any, while aristocracy filled up every avenue to the throne with pride, ignorance, and faction.

The state of the King and nation, at that time, was truly deplorable; the defeat of Braddock in America; the loss of Oswego; the delay of armaments; the absurd destination of fleets and armies, all served to reduce the people almost to a state of desperation, and brought addresses to the throne
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from every part of the kingdom. The general voice was, at length, too loud not to reach the throne; and the ministry were, at length, obliged to admit some gentlemen into a share of the government, whose talents and integrity might, in some measure, counterbalance their own deficiency. At the head of these newly introduced were Mr. Pitt and Mr. Legge; the former of these was appointed Secretary of State, the other Chancellor of the Exchequer. To draw the characters of men still living, would necessarily subject me to the imputation of adulation or satire; it is enough to say, that the people had high expectations both of their integrity and abilities; and, in the end, they were not disappointed.

The pleasure of the nation, however, was but of short continuance; a ministry composed of such jarring principles, could not long continue united, being constituted of persons espousing different measures, and actuated by different motives. The old junto courted the Sovereign's favour by their pretended attachment to his foreign dominions; the new clamoured against all continental connexions as utterly incompatible with the interest of the nation. Both, perhaps, might have been wrong; but it is obvious, that these sentiments were sufficient to sink the latter in the royal esteem; and this dislike was artfully kept up, and increased by their old rivals in power. A few months, therefore, after Mr. Pitt had been put into office, he was obliged to resign the seals, by his Majesty's command; and Mr. Legge was dismissed from being Chancellor of the Exchequer. The old ministry now thought themselves secure in the unmolested possession of former power; but this very step which they took for their own security,

rity, turned out to them as unfortunate, as those they planned for the public were unsuccessful. The whole nation seemed to rise up as one man, in vindication of that part of the ministry that was lately excluded. And the King, at length, thought proper to comply with the general solicitation. Mr. Pitt and Mr. Legge were again restored, and a train of successes soon began to dignify their designs.

For some time, however, the measures planned by the former ministry, were pursued in America; and though the English were superior to the enemy, yet still they felt all the inconvenience of irresolute councils, and ill-planned operations. Our women and children in that part of the world were exposed to the unparalleled cruelty of the Indian savages; and, what is still more remarkable, two thousand Britons, with arms in their hands, continued tame spectators of their inhumanities. Bad success ever produces complaint on all sides; and England now heard nothing but invective and accusation. The Generals sent over to manage the operations of war, loudly accused the timidity and the slowness of the natives, who were to unite in their own defence; the natives, on the contrary, as warmly expostulated against the pride, avarice, or incapacity of those sent over to command them. General Shirley, who was appointed to that command, had been superseded by Lord Loudoun; and this nobleman soon after returning to England, three several commanders were put at the head of separate operations; the most important, being that designed against Cape Breton, was commanded by General Amherst. The taking possession of this island, and its fortress, was a conquest greatly wished by all our colonies,

as it had always been a convenient harbour to the enemy, which from thence annoyed our trade with impunity. It was also a convenient situation for carrying on their fishery; a branch of commerce of the utmost benefit to the French nation. The fortress of Louisburg was strengthened with all the assistance of art; the garrison was numerous, the commander vigilant, and every precaution taken to prevent a descent. An account of the operations of a siege is tedious; be it sufficient to say, that the English surmounted every obstacle with the most amazing intrepidity; their former timidity seemed now converted into persevering resolution; the place was surrendered by capitulation; and our troops, long used to disappointment and repulse, began to boast of victory in their turn.

Two other operations were carried on in America at the same time; the one under General Abercrombie, against Crown-Point and Ticonderago; the other, more to the southward, against fort Du Quesne. The latter expedition was successful; but that against Crown-Point and Ticonderago, was attended with its usual bad fortune. This was now the second time that the English army had attempted to penetrate into those hideous wilds, by which nature had secured the French encroachments in that remote part of America; Braddock had fallen in the attempt; his rashness contributed to his defeat; and too much caution, perhaps, was the fault of his successor. Much time was spent in marching to the place of action; and the enemy were thus perfectly prepared to give the English troops a warm reception. They were found intrenched under the fort of Ticonderago, behind a breast-work raised eight feet high, and still farther secured by felled trees, with
their

their branches pointing outwards. These difficulties, however, the English attempted to surmount; but as the enemy, being secure themselves, took aim at leisure, a terrible carnage of the assailants ensued, and the General, after repeated efforts, was obliged to order a retreat. The English army, however, was still superior to that of the enemy, and might, it was supposed, have gone onward with success, if supported by their artillery, which had not yet arrived; but the General felt, too sensibly, the terrors of the late defeat, to remain in the vicinity of a victorious enemy; he therefore reembarked his troops, and returned to his camp at Lake George, from whence he had taken his departure.

The success of this campaign, however, was, upon the whole, greatly in favour of the English. The taking of Fort Du Quesne served to remove from our colonies the terrors of the incursions of barbarians, and interrupted that continued correspondence, which, by a chain of forts, one part of the French settlements had with the other. The ministry too discovered a spirit of vigorous resolution hitherto unknown, in this part of the world; and the next campaign promised more brilliant successes.

I am, &c.

LETTER

L E T T E R XXV.

IN the mean time, France had so often felt the effects of British valour, that she now seemed to act like a person of desperate fortune, and venture all upon one single stake. With this view all her ports were filled with preparations for an invasion of the British dominions; men of war, transports, and flat-bottomed boats, now almost a term of ridicule, were prepared with the greatest diligence. They talked of a triple embarkation. M. Thurot was to command a small squadron, and several transports from Dunkirk, which was believed to be intended for Scotland. This man, from being the master of a merchant ship, became a Captain of a privateer, in which capacity he greatly annoyed the trade of England, and acquired a great reputation for courage and conduct; accomplishments which, at a time that France did not abound with great men, recommended him to a command in the King's service.

The design against England was to have been attempted from Havre de Grace, and other ports in Normandy, in flat-bottomed boats. The third embarkation, which was supposed against Ireland, was to be made from Vannes, in Lower Brittany, where a large body of troops were assembled, under the command of the Duke d'Aquillon, Governor of that province. This embarkation was to be covered by a fleet under M. de Conflans, then sitting out at Brest. Had this design been such as was represented, and put in execution in the manner intended, there is no doubt but such an attempt upon both kingdoms, at three different places, at one and the same time, must have thrown

the nation into great confusion. But such measures were taken to frustrate their designs, whatever they might be, that there was little probability of their being executed with any kind of success. Commodore Boys, with his squadron, was stationed before Dunkirk; and Admiral Hawke, with a strong squadron, blocked up the French fleet in Brest; while a smaller squadron, under the command of Captain Duff, kept a watch on the port of Vannes.

With regard to the preparations at Havre, Admiral Rodney was sent with a small squadron of ships and bombs, not only to prevent the French flat-bottomed boats from sailing, but even to defeat the project by bombarding the place. He arrived before Havre on the second of July, and with a favourable wind, and moderate weather, anchored the next day in the great road, where, after making the proper dispositions, the bombs proceeded to place themselves in the narrow channel of the river leading to Honfleur; where they began the bombardment, and continued it for fifty-two hours with such success, that the town was several times in flames, and their magazine of stores, collected for the use of the flat-bottomed boats, burnt with great fury for six hours, notwithstanding the continual efforts of several hundred men to extinguish it. Many of the flat-bottomed boats were overturned and destroyed by the explosion of the shells, and the consternation of the inhabitants was so great, that they forsook the place, which was set on fire in several parts, and burnt with great fury.

An engagement soon after happened on the coast of Barbary between Admiral Boscawen and M. de la Clue. The English fleet, consisting of fourteen
sail

fail of the line, and two fire-ships, fell in with that of the French, which consisted of seven large ships, and three frigates, and, after a very short dispute, compelled them to fly, with the loss of the *Centaur*, a seventy-four gun ship, which struck. The English General pursued the flying enemy all night, but in the morning four sail only were seen standing in for land, the others having altered their course in the night, and deserted their commander. About nine, the *Ocean*, the ship in which M. de la Clue had hoisted his flag, ran among the breakers, and the *Redoubtable* followed her example, and both endeavoured to land their men; but the roughness of the sea rendered this a difficult and tedious task.

Admiral Boscawen stood in very near the land, and sent two of his ships to destroy the *Ocean*, which struck, after having one broad-side fired into her. M. de la Clue, who had one leg broke, and the other wounded, had been landed about half an hour; but her Captain M. le Comte de Came, and several officers and men, were on board. It was, however, found impossible to get the *Ocean* off, and she was therefore set on fire. Captain Bentley, of the *Warspight*, was ordered against the *Temeraire*, of seventy-four guns, and brought her off with very little damage. At the same time Vice-Admiral Broderick with his division, burnt the *Redoubtable*, which was bulged, and abandoned by her officers and men; and brought off the *Modeste* of fifty-four guns, very little damaged.

This victory was obtained by the English at the expence of fifty-six men killed, and one hundred and ninety-six wounded; but the carnage on board the enemy must have been much more considerable,

able, as one hundred men were killed, and seventy dangerously wounded on board the Ocean only. But the most severe circumstance of this disaster attending the French, was the loss of four capital ships, two of which were destroyed, and the other two brought home in triumph, to augment the formidable number of the British navy.

We have already observed, that the French ministry had projected an invasion of Great Britain, and that preparations were carrying on for that purpose in several of the ports of France. The defeat of M. de la Clue, though it retarded the intended invasion, yet the preparations for it were still continued. The object of it indeed was changed, and they now determined to land, if possible, a body of forces in Ireland. With this view Thurot received orders to sail the first opportunity from Dunkirk round the northern coast of Scotland, in order to alarm the coast of Ireland, and make a diversion from that part where Conflans intended to disembark his forces. The transports and ships of war were assembled at Brest and Rochfort, having on board a train of artillery, with saddles and other accoutrements for cavalry to be mounted in Ireland. A body of French troops, including the Irish brigades, was kept in readiness to embark; and the young Pretender having agreed to the terms proposed in France, remained in the neighbourhood of Vannes incognito, in order once more to hazard his person, and countenance a revolt in the dominions of Great Britain.

Sir Edward Hawke, however, prevented the execution of this scheme, by blocking up the harbour of Brest with a fleet of twenty-three capital ships; while another squadron of smaller ships,
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commanded by Captain Duff, continued cruising along the French coast, from Port l'Orient in Bretagne, to the point of St. Giles in Poitou. But in the month of November, the British fleet, commanded by Hawke, was driven from the coast of France by stress of weather, and anchored in Torbay. The French Admiral, being informed that the English were driven from their station, determined to embrace the opportunity of sailing from Brest with twenty-one sail of the line, and four frigates, in order to destroy the squadron commanded by Captain Duff, before the larger could return from the coast of England. Sir Edward Hawke, on hearing that the French fleet was sailed, immediately stood to sea in order to pursue them, and, on the twentieth of November, came up with them, they being then in chace of Captain Duff's squadron; but on discovering the English fleet, they made off with all the sail they could carry, and Duff, with some difficulty, joined Sir Edward Hawke. The Admiral perceiving the French were endeavouring to escape, threw out a signal for seven of his ships that were nearest the enemy to chace, and endeavour to detain them, till they could be properly reinforced by the rest of the squadron, which were ordered to form into a line of battle a-head, while they pursued the French Admiral, that no time might be lost. About half after two, the van of the English began the engagement with the rear of the enemy, in the neighbourhood of Belleisle. They did not, however, stop the pursuit, but having poured in a broad-side on the sternmost of the French, continued their course towards the van, leaving the rear to the ships that followed. Sir Edward Hawke, in the Royal George, of one hundred

hundred and ten guns, reserved his fire in passing through the rear of the enemy, and had almost come up to the *Soleil Royal*, in which Conflans commanded, when the *Thesée*, seeing his danger, ran in between the two commanders, and received the fire that had been reserved for the *Soleil Royal*. It proved, however, fatal to her commander, who endeavouring to return the rough salute, the sea rushed in at the lower-deck ports, and sent his ship to the bottom. The boisterous weather did not prevent a considerable number of the ships on both sides from fighting with equal fury, as their force was nearly equal, the English Admiral having but one ship of the line more than the enemy, and with regard to men and metal the French Admiral was superior. The battle continued for some time with doubtful success; but victory at last declared for the English. About four in the afternoon the *Formidable* struck her colours; and, about the same time, the *Superbe* shared the same fate with the *Thesée* in going to the bottom. The *Heros* hauled down her colours in token of submission, and came to an anchor; but the wind was so strong, and the sea so violently agitated, that no boat could be sent to take possession of her. Soon after, the retreat of the French, now covered by the obscurity of the evening, put an end to the engagement; a happy circumstance for the enemy, as one hour more of day-light would have brought on their total destruction.

The wind continuing to increase, and darkness coming on apace, the English fleet came to an anchor in a very dangerous road, alarmed by the fury of the storm, and the continual firing of guns of distress, without knowing whether they proceed-
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ed from friends or enemies. The *Soleil Royal*, sheltered by the darkness of the night, came to an anchor in the midst of the British squadron; but as soon as the dawn appeared, M. de Conflans ordered her cable to be cut, and she drove on shore. Hawke no sooner saw the French Admiral, than he made a signal to the *Essex* to slip her cable and pursue the flying Frenchman. The Captain of the *Essex* readily obeyed, but ran on a sand-bank, where she was lost, together with the *Resolution*, another ship of the British squadron. The greater part of their stores, together with all their men were, however, saved, and the wreck set on fire to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy. In the mean time the *Soleil Royal* lay beating on the shore, and the French observing the English preparing to destroy her, set her on fire. The English, therefore, returned, and reduced the *Heros*, which was also aground, to ashes; and the *Juste*, another of their large ships, perished in the mouth of their river Loire.

The next morning, the Admiral perceiving seven ships of the enemy riding at anchor between Point Penvas and the river Vilaine, made the signal to weigh, in order to attack them; but the fury of the storm increased to such a degree, that he was obliged to remain at anchor, and even ordered the top-gallant masts to be struck. In the mean time the French ships threw overboard their cannon and stores, and, the weather being more moderate under the land, took the advantage of the flood to pass the bar at the mouth of the river Vilaine, where they came to an anchor within half a mile of the entrance, and were protected by two frigates moored across the mouth of the harbour,
with

with several occasional batteries erected on the shore.

In this battle, which may justly be considered as one of the most dangerous and important that ever happened in any war between the two nations, only one lieutenant and thirty-nine men were killed, and about two hundred wounded. By this defeat, the projected invasion, that had so long alarmed the apprehensions of Great Britain, was rendered abortive, and a finishing stroke given to the naval power of the enemy.

Hawke continued cruising along the coast of Bretagne for a considerable time after he had defeated Conflans, and took particular care to block up the mouth of the river Vilaine, that the seven French ships might not escape, and join the shattered remains of their squadron, which had found means to reach Rochfort. At length the brave English Admiral was recalled, and presented to his Sovereign, who gratified him with a considerable pension, for the courage and conduct he had so often and so eminently displayed in the service of his country.

I am, &c.

LETTER

L E T T E R XXVI.

THESE signal successes greatly animated the hopes, and roused the spirits of the people. In the opening of the next session, 1759, the ministry seemed sensible that a single effort carried in such wide extended dominions, would never bring the enemy into subjection; it was therefore resolved to attack them in several different parts of this extensive empire at once. Preparations were therefore made, and expeditions went forward against three different parts of the northern continent of America. General Amherst, commander in chief, with a body of twelve thousand men, was to attack Crown-Point, that had hitherto been the reproach of the English army. General Wolfe was, at the opposite quarter, to enter the river St. Lawrence, and undertake the siege of Quebec, the capital of the French dominions in this part of the world, while General Prideaux and Sir William Johnson were to attempt a fort near the cataract of Niagara. This last expedition was the first successful. The fort of Niagara was a place of great importance, and served to command all the communication between the northern and western French settlements. The siege was soon commenced by the English, but General Prideaux was killed in the trenches by the bursting of a cohorn; so that the whole success of the expedition fell to General Johnson, and his good fortune. He omitted nothing to promote the vigorous measures of his predecessor, but added all his own popularity. The French knew the importance of this fort, and attempted to relieve it. Johnson attacked them with his usual intrepidity and

and success; in less than an hour their whole army was put to the rout, and the garrison, beholding the defeat of their countrymen, surrendered prisoners of war. Nor was General Amherst less successful, though, without meeting an enemy, upon his march to Crown-Point, he found both that fort and Ticonderago deserted and destroyed. There now, therefore, remained but one grand and decisive blow to put all North America in possession of the English. This was the taking of Quebec, a city handsomely built, populous, and flourishing. Admiral Saunders commanded the naval part of the expedition; that by land was committed to the conduct of General Wolfe. This young soldier, who was not yet thirty-five, had distinguished himself on many former occasions, particularly in the siege of Louisburg, a part of the success of which was justly ascribed to him, who, unindebted to family or connexions, had raised himself by merit to his present command. The war in this part of the world had hitherto been carried on with extreme barbarity; and each side seemed to have adopted the savage manners of the Indians, whose country they disputed. Wolfe, however, disdained those base proceedings, and carried on all the terrors of war with the humanity of a truly civilized European. A description of the siege of this city may instruct a soldier, but can scarcely inform a citizen; be it sufficient to observe, that its beginning appeared extremely unpromising to the besiegers; and repeated repulses even served to abate the hopes of the commander. *I know, said he, that the affairs of Great Britain require the most vigorous measures; but then, the courage of an handful of brave men should be exerted only where there is some hope of a favourable event. At present, the*
difficulties

difficulties are so various, that I am at a loss how to determine. However, he resolved, though now sinking under fatigue and sickness, to make one vigorous attempt before he gave up all; and accordingly, in the night, part of his troops, with great difficulty, made themselves masters of an hill that commanded the town. A battle ensued; Montcalm, the French commander, resolved not to survive the defeat of his country. Wolfe, on the other side, resolved to conquer or die. Both commanders had their wish; both fell; but the English were victorious. The circumstances attending the death of Wolfe, served to give an example like that of the noble Theban. He, in the beginning of the engagement, received a wound in the hand, which he dissembled, wrapping it round with his handkerchief, to stop the effusion of blood; he advanced with unconcern: a second ball, was more fatal; it pierced his breast, so that, unable to proceed, he leaned on the shoulder of a soldier who was near him. Now, struggling in the agonies of death, and just departing, he heard a voice cry, *they run*; he seemed to revive a moment at the sound; and asking who ran, was informed the *French*; expressing his wonder that they ran so soon, and unable to gaze any longer, he sunk on the soldier's breast, and his last words were, *Then I die happy*. Perhaps the loss of such a man was greater to the nation, than the conquering of all Canada was advantageous; but it is the misfortune of humanity, that we can never know true greatness until that moment when we are going to lose it.

It cannot be thought, but that the death of this gallant commander was a national loss, and universally lamented. He seemed by nature formed
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for military greatness : his memory was retentive, his judgment deep, and his apprehension amazingly quick and clear. His constitutional courage was not only uniform and daring, perhaps to an extreme, but he possessed that higher species of it, that strength, steadiness, and activity of mind which no difficulties could obstruct, and no dangers deter. With an unusual liveliness, almost to impetuosity of temper, he was not subject to passion : with the greatest independence of spirit he was free from pride. Generous almost to profusion, he contemned every little art for the acquisition of wealth, while he searched after objects for his charity and beneficence : no deserving soldier ever went unrewarded ; and the inferior officers often tasted of his bounty. Constant and distinguishing in his attachments ; manly and unreserved, yet gentle, kind, and conciliating in his manners. He enjoyed a large share of the friendship, and almost the universal good-will of mankind ; and to crown all, sincerity and candor, a true sense of honour, justice, and public liberty, seemed the inherent principles of his nature, and the uniform rule of his conduct.

The surrender of Quebec was the consequence of this victory, and with it, the total cession of all Canada. The French, it is true, made in the ensuing season, a vigorous effort to retake it ; but, by the good conduct of our Governor, the town held out until relieved by an English fleet, under the command of Lord Colville. Thus did this campaign make ample reparation for all the losses that had been hitherto sustained by the English. The French had now no force capable of making any resistance ; they held out the war now, not with hopes of victory, but honourable capitulation ;

tion; one place after another was invaded; Montreal, at last, surrendered; and, in a short time, a country, which their own writers have represented as being more extensive than the Roman Empire, fell totally under the power of his Britannic Majesty.

How far the extending dominions tends to the increasing the strength of a nation, is an object worthy consideration. The splendor of victory should never dazzle the eye of reason. No people ever could call their country powerful, if it were not populous. For political force depends upon the small frontier to be defended; and the vicinity of an army to every place that might be invaded; but extended Empire takes away both these advantages, and, before the soldier can traverse half his proper territories, his country may have already felt all the horrors of invasion. Whatever joy, therefore, our country might have felt at these immense acquisitions, of remote territory, I own it gives me no very pleasing prospect. The manufactures, the trade, and the riches of these distant countries, can never recompense for the continual drain of useful and industrious subjects, that must be derived from the mother country to people them. Wherever the lower sort of people in any kingdom can fly from labour, they will be ready to go; yet, upon the industry, and the valour of these alone, every kingdom must hope for security. Not the effeminate, and the luxurious, can defend their country in the day of battle; they may increase timidity by their example, but opulence can never give true relief. The Spaniards and the Portuguese were much more powerful before they divided their strength into all the torrid climates of Southern America. The state thus got riches, but
lost

lost men ; they had gold, but could not regain industry. Thus are their nations now incapable of defending themselves against powerful foreign invasion. The immense wealth of the Indies that every year comes home to their ports goes to enrich a few ; their subjects are either in the extremes of wealth or poverty ; the rich have only slaves, beneath them, who hate those for whom they must labour ; the poor have no acquisitions, nor property, to defend ; so that their armies are composed either of wretches pressed into the service, who only seek for opportunities not to fight, but to fly ; or of men, rich and noble, courageous from pride, yet weak from luxury. Such is not, as yet, the case of England, nor ever will be, if a passion for conquest is not mistaken for national prosperity.

It was but a very short time after this victory gained by our military, that another was gained by a small squadron of our naval forces under the command of Commodore Elliot ; which though neither so glorious in the achievement, nor so signal in its effects, is yet too considerable to be passed over in silence.

We have already mentioned Thurot's sailing from Dunkirk, and the alarm caused thereby on the coast of Scotland. His squadron consisted originally of five sail ; the Belleisle of forty-eight guns, the Begon and Blond of thirty-six each ; the Terpsichore and the Amaranth of twenty-four guns each ; having on board seven hundred seamen, and twelve hundred and seventy land forces. The men embarked at Dunkirk in the preceding year ; where the squadron remained forty days blocked up by Commodore Boys, during which two hundred men were put on shore sick ; but the
night

night of the fifteenth of October being hazy, Thurot took advantage of the weather to slip out, and got safe to Ostend, where he anchored. Next morning, the weather being tempestuous, the Begon broke her cable, and was driven out to sea, the rest of their fleet therefore cut their cables and followed her. After beating about ten days, they all arrived at Gottenburgh. In a few days after, a brisk gale springing up, they made sail for Ireland, and in a few days discovered the coast, upon which preparations were made to land the next day; but a violent storm arising in the night, Thurot found it expedient to make sail for Derry, which he might have reached the next day; but being unwilling to land in the night, he kept off, and made preparations for landing in the morning: in the night they continued to approach the shore, but as they were doubling the point of Derry, the wind changed, and they were once more driven out to sea.

The storm increased with such violence, that the whole fleet was in the utmost danger; the Blond was obliged to throw four of her guns overboard, and the Begon and Amaranth being separated from the squadron, Thurot saw them no more, but they afterwards got safe to France.

On the 16th of February the ships were discovered from the island of Ilay, and the people mistaking them for English vessels, that wanted pilots, two gentlemen went out in a small boat, and were received on board the Belleisle, before they discovered their mistake. They were immediately conducted to Thurot's cabin, who was sitting at a table with about twelve officers, and who treated them with the utmost civility and politeness.

politeness. They soon landed at this place, and bought some fresh provisions.

On the 18th, the *Belleisle* being very leaky, all her guns were brought to one side to make her heel, and carpenters were at work all day in repairing her. Thurot knew nothing of the defeat of *Conflans* until this day at dinner, when the whole company was so struck with the news, that they laid down their knives and forks, and looked at each other with expressions of the utmost consternation and disappointment. The next day the squadron weighed anchor, and sailed to *Carrickfergus*. On the 21st, they anchored at about twelve, and at three in the afternoon they landed their forces, which were reduced by sickness, and the loss of the *Begon* and *Amaranth*, to six hundred men.

While the fleet were coming to an anchor, they were discovered and suspected to be enemies, by the people on the shore. The small number of troops belonging to the garrison, being then exercising about half a mile on the road to *Belfast*, the guard was turned out, made up, and marched off to relieve that on the French prisoners in the castle; the rest of the men continued in the field of exercise, where an account was soon brought, that the three ships, just come to an anchor, had taken and detained two fishing boats, and, with several others, were plying on and off between the shore and the ships: on which immediate orders were sent to the castle, to continue both guards under arms, double the centries over the French prisoners, and to be particularly strict and watchful over them. After the troops had assembled in the market-place, Lieutenant Hall went off with a reconnoitring party, and took post on a rising

rising ground, where he could plainly perceive eight boats landing armed men, who drew out in detachments. He therefore gave orders to his non-commissioned officers and men, to watch their approaches, and take particular care that they did not get round them, by going along the foot of the hill; to prevent which, he posted them himself, and ordered them, as soon as the enemy's advanced guard came within shot, to fire upon them, and continue so to do, until they repulsed them, or were obliged to retreat. He then went to the town, where he found Lieutenant-colonel Jennings, and acquainted him with what he had done; upon which Jennings, with the troops on the parade, ordered detachments to be made to defend the gates, and avenues of the town. Soon after this had been done, the reconnoitring party retired, having spent all their ammunition; but in the mean time, the lieutenant-colonel sent orders to convey the French prisoners of war, with all speed to Belfast. By this time, the enemy were in full march for the town; and two or three straggling hussars, mounted on horses they had picked up after landing, attempted to enter the gates: they retired on the first fire, but were soon supported by parties of foot, who attempted both the North and Scotch gates, and the walls of Lord Donnegal's garden; but these were also repulsed and kept back as long as the men had ammunition: when that was spent, Col. Jennings ordered the whole to retire to the castle. Before the gates of the castle were shut, the enemy appeared in the market-place, and might then have been destroyed, if our forces had not been without ball; but finding the fire grow slack, they attacked the gates sword in hand; and, at length, having

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forced them, marched in. The enemy, however, met with a smart reception, and were beat back. After a short consultation, finding it impossible to make a sally for want of ammunition, and that the castle was not tenable, a breach near fifty feet long having been made in the wall, they surrendered.

In the mean time Captain Elliot, commander of his majesty's ship the *Æolus*, of thirty-two guns, and two hundred and ten men, who was stationed at Kinsale, having received advice from the Lord Lieutenant, that three French ships had appeared off Carrickfergus, sailed with the *Pallas* and *Brilliant*, two frigates of thirty-six guns each, in quest of them. On the evening of the 26th, he made the entrance of Carrickfergus; but the wind blowing contrary, and the weather being bad, he found it impossible to get in. On the 28th, however, he got sight of the enemy, and gave chase: about nine o'clock, Captain Elliot came along side of *Thurot*, and a fierce engagement ensued. It continued about an hour and a half, when the enemy's ships struck their colours. The brave *Thurot* was unfortunately killed, after he had ordered his colours to be struck.

The loss of the English in this engagement, amounted but to five men killed, and thirty-one wounded; but the number of the enemy killed, was not less than three hundred; their ships too, were much damaged in their masts and rigging, and were brought by Captain Elliot into Ramsay-bay, in the Isle of Man, to refit. The *Belleisle* lost her bowsprit, mizen-mast, and main-yard; and it was with the utmost difficulty she was preserved from sinking.

I am, &c.

LETTER

L E T T E R XXVII.

THE success of our arms in America was achieved by moderate efforts; on the contrary, in Europe the efforts we made, and the operations of our great ally the King of Prussia, were astonishing, yet produced no very signal effects. Safety was all that could be expected; and this was secured contrary to all human expectation. You have just seen this Monarch surrounded by enemies; the greatest and most formidable powers of Europe; you have seen almost the whole power of the continent united against and hovering over, his devoted dominions; and the only allies that remained to him bound by treaty to retire, and give him no assistance. In this forlorn situation he still adhered to his fortitude, and, relying on his natural subjects alone, resolved never to abandon his claims. Such was the desperate condition of his affairs; yet they were rendered still more hopeless, when he was informed that his only friend, the Monarch of that generous people which had hitherto supplied him with money and stores, was going to forsake him, and leave him to irremediable ruin. It was thus he expostulated with the doubting Monarch upon this occasion: *Is it possible that your Majesty can have so little fortitude and constancy, as to be dispirited by a small reverse of fortune. Are our affairs so ruinous that they cannot be repaired? Consider the step you have made me undertake, and remember that you are the cause of all my misfortunes. I should never have abandoned my former alliances but for your flattering assurances. I do not now repent of the treaty concluded between us; but I intreat you will not ingloriously*

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riously leave me at the mercy of my enemies, after having brought upon me all the powers of Europe. The French and Imperialists, after a successful summer campaign, were, at this time, which was the depth of winter, besieging the city of Leipzig. His Prussian Majesty dreaded the capture of this important place, and soon, unexpectedly, seemed to rise up before it. Such was the terror of his arms, even vanquished as he had been, that his approach raised the siege, and the French, though superior in number, retreated. He, at length, overtook them at a village called Rosbach, and gained so complete a victory, that night alone saved their whole army from destruction. The Austrians were, in another part of the Empire, still victorious, and had taken the prince of Bevern, his generalissimo, prisoner. The King, after a rapid march of two hundred miles, in the depth of winter, came up with them near Breslau, disposed his inferior forces with his usual judgment, and obtained another bloody victory, in which he took not less than fifteen thousand prisoners. Breslau, with a garrison of ten thousand men, surrendered soon after. These successes dispirited the enemy, and raised his allies to new hopes.

After the capitulation of Closter-Seven was signed, between the Duke of Cumberland and the Duke of Richelieu, both sides began to complain of infractions. The Hanoverians accused the rapacity of the French General, and the insolent brutality of his soldiers; while the French retorted the charge of insurrection against them, and began to think of treating as a conquered enemy those whom they had only bound by treaty as neutrals. Treaties have never been preserved longer than interest or compulsion bound them; political
faith

faith is a word without meaning; the French oppressed the Hanoverians; the latter resumed their arms; and each side complained, as usual, of infraction. A General was not long wanting to assemble the collecting army. Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick putting himself at their head, began by skirmishing with success; and, at last, they were in a capacity of becoming formidable to their late victors. From this time the King of Prussia fought the enemy upon more equal terms than ever; often victorious, sometimes repulsed; but ever active and formidable. To name his victories, the towns he took, the dangers he escaped, and the losses he suffered, would take up more time than I would chuse to grant to such accounts, or you should bestow. Never was the art of war carried on to such a height as by him. In this war Europe saw, with astonishment, campaigns carried on in the midst of winter; great and bloody battles fought, yet producing no visible advantage to the victors. At no time, since the days of heroism, were such numbers destroyed, so many towns taken, so many skirmishes fought, such stratagems practised, or such intrepidity shewn. Armies now were considered as composing one single machine, directed by the General, and animated with one will. From the commentary of these campaigns, succeeding Generals will take their lessons for devastation, and improve in the arts of increasing human calamity.

But I cannot dismiss the affairs of Germany, where so many battles, sieges, and strokes of generalship were undertaken, without observing something concerning the two great generals who conducted them.

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They are certainly in reputation the first in Europe, which probably, never produced two greater men; though they differ as much in their characters, and in the kind of talents they possess, as they agree in the greatness of their abilities for war. The king of Prussia, rapid, vehement, impatient, often gives decisive blows; but he often misses his stroke, and wounds himself. Prince Ferdinand is cool, deliberate, exact, and guarded; he sees every possible advantage, he takes it at the moment; pursues it as far as it will go; but never attempts to push it farther. Nothing in the man disturbs the commander. In him, we do not see a person who is a great soldier; it is the idea of a perfect general; it is a general in the abstract. Ferdinand suffers his temper to be guided by his business. He never precipitates matters; he takes them in their order and their course, and trusts nothing to fortune. The King, on the other hand, leads, and even forces circumstances; he does not endeavour to remove, but to overleap obstacles; he puts all to the risque; and by suffering fortune to play her part, in his designs, he acquires a splendor and eclat in his actions, which mere wisdom could never give him. Prince Ferdinand is famous for never committing a fault. The King of Prussia is above all the world in repairing those he has committed. Like some of the great masters in writing, whenever he makes, or seems to make a mistake, it is a signal to the observer, to prepare for some great and admirable stroke of spirit and conduct. His errors seem to be spurs to his abilities. He commits an error; he repairs it; he errs again, and astonishes us by his manner of escaping. We should often condemn the commander, but that we are always forced to admire the hero.

England

England was, all this time, happily exempted from the calamities which drenched the rest of Europe in blood; yet, from her natural military eagerness, seemed desirous of sharing those dangers of which she was only a spectator. This passion for carrying on a continental war, was not less pleasing to the Monarch from his native attachments, than to the people from their natural propensity to arms. As soon as it was known that Prince Ferdinand had put himself at the head of the Hanoverian army, his Britannic Majesty, in a speech at the opening of the session of parliament, observed, that the late successes in Germany had given an happy turn to his affairs, which it would be necessary to improve. The commons therefore granted liberal supplies both for the service of the King of Prussia, and for enabling the army formed in the Electorate of Hanover, to act vigorously in conjunction with him. Soon after it was considered, that men would be a more grateful supply than money. The minister who had first come into power and popularity, by opposing such measures, was now prevailed upon to enter into them with greater ardor than any of his predecessors. The hopes of putting a speedy end to this war, by vigorous measures, his connexions, and perhaps the pleasure he found in giving his Majesty pleasure, incited him eagerly into a continental war; to which may be added, that as the situation of affairs was greatly changed, from the time he opposed the German war to the period we are now treating of, and as money and troops had been sent by his predecessors in office for the service of his Prussian Majesty, and that they had entered into engagements to supply him with both, it became impossible for the present minister to violate those engagements the former ministers had

had entered into. Neither, indeed, would it have been consistent with the national faith to have done it. Mr. Pitt, therefore, considered in this light, is not in the least blameable, in changing his measures, when a change of circumstances made it necessary; but had he deserted the cause of so magnanimous a Monarch, contrary to treaty, and in violation of British honour, he had been justly reprehensible. It is certain, no minister could more powerfully second a warlike Monarch's intentions; that spirit of enterprize, which had, in a measure, taken birth with his administration, he could now direct at will. The passion for military honour seemed diffused through all ranks of people; and it only wanted a channel in which to flow. In order to indulge this general inclination, the Duke of Marlborough was sent into Germany with a small number of British forces to assist Prince Ferdinand, where they behaved with bravery, and conspired in promoting that Prince's successes. Each victory they gained, however, only served as a pretext to call for new forces from Britain, while the English ministry were taught to believe that every battle would be decisive.

The first battle of any importance that was fought by the troops under Prince Ferdinand after signing the convention of Closter-Seven, was at Crevelt. The Prince found it impossible to prevent the French from passing the Rhine, wherefore he cantoned the allied army in the bishopric of Munster. At the latter end of May, he ordered a detachment to pass the Rhine at Dussburg, under the command of Colonel Scheither, who executed his orders without loss, defeated three battalions of the enemy, and took five pieces of cannon. On the seventh of June the whole army passed the Rhine, on a bridge constructed for
that

that purpose, defeated a body of French cavalry, and obtained several other advantages over the enemy. The flattery of the last age saw with astonishment, a French Monarch pass the Rhine unopposed, at the head of a powerful army. We saw that river passed by the enemies of France, in the presence of an army of that nation, composed of fifty thousand men.

The French army retired as the Prince advanced, till the Count de Clermont, in order to stop, if possible, the progress of the allies, took possession of an advantageous camp near Rhinesfeldt, which he fortified with strong intrenchments, and, determined to wait for their reinforcements, which soon after arrived.

Prince Ferdinand finding it impracticable to attack the French camp, found means to turn their left flank towards the convent of Campe, which obliged the enemy to quit their advantageous post, and retire to Nuys, a little higher up the river, whence deClermont detached a considerable corps, under the command of the Count de St. Germain, to take post at Crevelt, situated on a plain between his army and the camp of the allies, which fronted the town of Meurs. Prince Ferdinand now made a disposition for attacking the enemy, with his usual vigour and prudence. He carefully reconnoitred the situation of their camp, and found that their right extended to the village of Vische-lon; their left towards Anrath, where it was covered by a wood; and that Crevelt, which was in the front of their right, was occupied by a party of their troops.

Having made these observations, and the proper dispositions for an attack, he put himself at the head of the grenadiers, and in order to divide

the enemy's attention, and keep them in suspense with regard to the nature of his principal attack, he directed the Generals Sporcken and Oberg to advance against them by the way of Crevelt and St. Anthony, and to be particularly careful in making the most of their artillery; that, by being alarmed in three different places at the same time, they might be prevented from sending any reinforcement to the left, where the chief attack was intended. These precautions being taken, he continued his march, at the head of the grenadiers, to the village of Anrath, where he fell in with an advanced party of the French, who, after a few discharges of musquetry, retired to the camp, and gave the alarm. In the mean time both armies were drawn up in order of battle; the troops of the allies in the plain between the villages of Anrath and Willich, opposite the French forces, whose left was covered with a wood. About one in the afternoon the action began with a severe cannonading on the part of Prince Ferdinand, which, though well supported, proved ineffectual for answering the purpose intended, the driving the French from their cover: he therefore determined to dislodge them from the wood by a close attack of the infantry. The Hereditary Prince accordingly advanced with the whole front, and a very obstinate action ensued. In the mean time the cavalry on the right attempted in vain to penetrate through the wood on the other side, where the enemy had raised two batteries, which were sustained by forty squadrons of horse. In this manner the action continued 'till five in the afternoon, when the grenadiers collecting all their strength, forced the intrenchments in the wood, which were lined with the French infantry. These
giving

giving way, abandoned the wood in the utmost disorder; but the pursuit was checked by the conduct and resolution of the enemy's cavalry, which maintained their ground, and covered the foot in their retreat to Nuys, notwithstanding a dreadful fire from the artillery of the allies, and the vigorous attacks of the Hanoverian horse, who had by this time found means to regain the plain. The success of the day was in a great measure owing to the artillery on the left, and in the centre, which did prodigious execution, while Prince Ferdinand prosecuted the attack on the other quarter. But though the right wing and centre of the French army had severely suffered by the cannonading, yet they were never broken, and continued their retreat towards Nuys in the most perfect order.

Seven thousand of the French troops were killed, wounded, and taken prisoners; and several standards, colours, and pieces of cannon fell into the hands of the allies, who lost about fifteen hundred men. The Count de Gisors, only son of the Duke de Belleisle, and the last hope of that noble family, was mortally wounded at the head of his regiment, which he brought up with the most intrepid courage, and inspired by his example to make incredible efforts. Thus the unhappy father, at that time secretary at war, saw his private misfortunes keep pace with the public calamities, and the tears of his family mingled with those of his country.

The victory gained at Crevelt by Prince Ferdinand did honour to his military capacity, and the bravery of his troops; but it was neither entire nor decisive. The French army indeed took refuge under the cannon of Cologne, without taking any step to relieve Dusseldorp, which Prince Ferdi-

Ferdinand immediately invested, and, in a few days reduced, the garrison being allowed to march out with all the honours of war, on condition of not serving against the allies during the space of one year. The French General, however, found means to send a very considerable reinforcement to the Prince of Soubise, who was encamped on the other side of the Rhine.

After this battle, several skirmishes happened between detachments on either side, which generally terminated in favour of the allies, 'till in the month of June, Retberg was surprised by the Duke of Broglie, who also took Minden by assault, where a garrison of fifteen hundred men were made prisoners, and immense magazines fell into his hands. D'Amentiers, one of the French Generals, likewise advanced against Munster; and attempted to take the place by assault; but though he failed in his attempt, and sustained a very considerable loss, he did not desist. On the twenty-fifth of July he drew up his cannon from Wesel, and, after a short siege, made himself master of the city, and took four thousand men prisoners of war.

Nothing seemed able to withstand the rapid torrent with which the French over-ran the whole country: they no longer hoped the conquest of Hanover; they considered it as an absolute certainty. Elated with the fair appearance of their fortune, they kept no bounds, and proposed the most cruel and unwarrantable expedients for securing their conquests, and preventing a second expulsion from Hanover. The allies now seemed dejected. The archives and most valuable effects were sent from Hanover to Stade; from whence, in case of necessity, they might be conveyed by sea to England.

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In the midst of this general gloom that overspread the fortune of the allies, Prince Ferdinand kept himself unmoved and attentive to his designs. He did not suffer himself to be disconcerted by misfortunes which he had, probably, foreseen, and the ill consequences of which he knew how to prevent. The body of the French army, after the taking of Minden, had posted themselves near that city, to which the right of their army extended: their left was protected by a very steep hill; in their front was a large morass; and a rivulet covered their rear. The allied army now began to advance, and fixed their camp at Petershagen, a place about three leagues from the enemy.

Nothing but a battle could now hinder the French from taking up their winter quarters in Hanover; and there was no attacking them with any hopes of success in the camp they occupied. The difficulty therefore was to draw them from that post into the plain. The operations of Prince Ferdinand on this occasion displayed so penetrating and uncommon a genius, such a guarded boldness, such a certainty of the principles which influenced his conduct, and such a perfect possession of himself, that perhaps there are few instances in history of so complete and finished a piece of generalship.

On the twenty-ninth of July the Prince left his camp on the Weser, and marched towards Hillen with the greater part of his army. He had the day before detached the Hereditary Prince of Brunswick, with six thousand men, to make a compass towards the enemy's left flank, and to post himself in such a manner as to cut off the communication of their convoys from Paderborn; and

and he left on the bank of the Weser, a number of forces, under the command of General Wangenheim, which extended to the town of Thornhausen, where they were intrenched, and supported by a considerable train of artillery. The French, not inattentive to these motions, determined to attack Wangenheim, who they knew had only a small body of troops, and who, they thought, was at so great a distance from the rest of the army, as rendered it impossible for him to be relieved. Could they rout this body, as they thought they easily might, they should be able to place themselves between Prince Ferdinand's army and the Weser, and by that means cut off his communication with that river; the great object at which they aimed through the whole campaign, and which, had they effected, must have involved the allies in certain destruction.

Full of these ideas, they left their advantageous post on the first of August; and, having passed the morafs in eight columns, advanced into the plain. The Duke of Broglie was to lead the attack, by falling upon that body that lay near the river, and which seemed to promise him an assured and easy victory. He marched on therefore with great confidence; but, as soon as he had gained an eminence which lay along his front, he was struck with the utmost surprise, when, instead of a few posts weakly guarded, he beheld the whole army of the allies drawn up in excellent order, extending from the banks of the Weser quite to the morafs, in the front of the late French camp. This was a sight entirely unexpected: they believed the Prince to have been at Hillen; but he had marched up, and the whole army was joined in the night. This discovery for a time put a stop to the
motions

motions of the French; they were hemmed in between the allies, the morass, and the river. Their situation was disagreeable, but it was impossible to recede.

The allies now advanced to attack the enemy's centre, which was almost wholly composed of horse; but it was the flower of the cavalry who anticipated the shock of the allies, by beginning the engagement. The weight of the battle was chiefly sustained by the English infantry, and some corps of Hanoverians; who stood the reiterated charges of so many bodies of horse, the strength and glory of the French army, with a resolution, steadiness, and expertness in their manœuvres, which was never exceeded, perhaps never equalled. They cut to pieces, or entirely routed, these bodies. Two brigades of foot attempted to support them; but they soon vanished before the English infantry. Waldegrave's and Kingsley's regiments distinguished themselves in a particular manner; nor were their commanders less conspicuous. The enemy's horse, which composed their centre, being entirely defeated, and their right, which attacked Wangenheim, unable to make the least impression, they thought of nothing but a retreat.

At this critical moment, the Prince sent orders to Lord George Sackville, who commanded the whole British, and several brigades of German cavalry, to advance. The cavalry formed the right wing of the allies, extending to the morass; and if that powerful body could have charged at the instant of the enemy's retreat, such a shock at that time, and in that situation, would, in all probability, have left the French without an army in Germany; but the orders were not sufficiently

ently precise, or not sufficiently understood by the English commander, so that there was some delay in waiting for an explanation: the critical minute passed away; the British cavalry lost their share in the glory of the action; and the French retreated in some order, favoured by the spirited and well-judged efforts of the Duke of Broglie, and the advantages which resulted from their being in possession of Minden.

The loss of the French in this action amounted to about seven thousand men killed, wounded, and prisoners; among whom were many officers of considerable rank. The loss of the allies did not exceed two thousand. The English, as they gained the greatest glory, so they were the greatest sufferers. The Prince, on the day after the battle, thanked those illustrious corps who had behaved so gallantly; but there were some expressions in the orders for the rejoicing, which were supposed to convey a very severe reflection on the commander in chief of the British forces. The Prince required, with an emphasis, which seemed particularly pointed, that his orders by his aid-de-camps should, for the future, be more exactly obeyed. In a manner still less capable of being misunderstood, he expressed his concern, that the Marquis of Granby had not been invested with the command of the British cavalry; for had he commanded, his Highness made no doubt that the success of the day would have been much more complete and brilliant. This severe insinuation concerning the disobedience to orders and the invidious compliments to a subordinate officer, were clear declarations *.

After

* The following is the sentence of the General Court-Martial, held on the trial of his lordship.

“The

After these two victories it was supposed, that one reinforcement more of British forces would terminate the war in our favour; a reinforcement was therefore sent. The British troops in Germany now amounted to about thirty thousand men, yet no advantage of any consequence was the result of this formidable assistance. War was the trade of some Generals, and, it must be allowed, a gainful trade it was. Let me, therefore, here again, pass over this continued repetition of marchings, skirmishes, and rencounters, nor load the page with names of German generals, too difficult to be pronounced by an English tongue, and equally grating to a patriot ear. The victories of either side might, in fact, be considered as a compact by which something was to be lost on either side, and no advantage to be acquired. The English, at length, began to open their eyes to their own interest; nor could all the splendors of victory so far blind them, as not to see they were waging unequal war, and assuming new loads of taxes for conquests they could neither preserve nor enjoy. Such were the growing discontents of the people, when the King, who had inspired these

"The court, upon due consideration of the whole matter before them, is of opinion, That lord George Sackville is guilty of having disobeyed the orders of prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, whom he was by his commission and instructions directed to obey, as commander in chief, according to the rules of war; and it is the farther opinion of this court, That the said lord George Sackville is, and he is hereby adjudged, unfit to serve his majesty in any military capacity whatever."

Which sentence his majesty was pleased to confirm.

It is his majesty's pleasure, that the above sentence be given out in public orders, that officers being convinced that neither high birth, nor great employments, can shelter offences of such a nature; and that seeing they are subject to censures much worse than death, to a man who has any sense of honour, they may avoid the fatal consequences arising from disobedience of orders.

mea-

measures, unexpectedly died at his palace at Kensington. On the twenty-fifth day of October, George II. without any previous disorder, was found by his domestic servants, expiring in his chamber. He had arisen at his usual hour, and observed to his attendants, that as the weather was fine, he would walk out. In a few minutes after this, being left alone, he was heard to fall upon the floor. The noise of his fall brought his attendants into the room, who lifted him into bed, where he desired, in a faint voice, that the Princess Amelia might be sent for; but before her arrival he expired. George II. died in the 77th year of his age, and the 33d of his reign, in the midst of victory; and, at that very period, when the universal enthusiasm of conquest began to subside for more sober reflexions. If any Monarch was happy in the peculiar mode and time of his death, it was he. The factions which had been nursing in his reign, had not yet come to maturity; and all their virulence threatened to fall upon his successor. He was himself of no shining abilities; and, consequently, while he was suffered to guide his German dominions, he entrusted the care of Britain to his ministers at home. However, as we stand too near this Monarch to view his real character without partiality, take the following characters of him, by two writers of opposite sentiments.

“As to the extent of his understanding (says Dr. Smollett) or the splendor of his virtue, we rather wish for opportunities of praising, than undertake the task ourselves. His public character was marked with a predilection for his native country, to which he sacrificed all other motives.”

On

On the other hand, says his panegyrist, Mr. Campbell, "When future historians come to speak of his majesty, they will find both in his fortune and his virtue abundant matter for just and unsuspected panegyric. None of his predecessors on the throne of England lived to so great an age; few of them enjoyed so long a reign. His subjects were still improving under him in commerce and arts; and his own economy set a prudent example to the nation, which, however, they did not follow. He was, in his temper, sudden and violent; but this, though it influenced his behaviour, made no change in his conduct, which was generally guided by reason. He was plain and direct in his intentions, true to his word, steady in his favour and protection to his servants; nor parting even with his ministers till compelled to it by the violence of faction. In short, through the whole of life he appeared rather to live for the cultivation of useful virtues than splendid ones; and, satisfied with being good, left others their unenvied greatness."

I am, &c.

LETTER

L E T T E R XXVIII.

I Am sorry that praise bestowed on living merit is often found to injure the goodness it applauds. The character of the successor of George the second deserves the warmest panegyric; and all who love their country wish for a continuance of that spirit, and that virtue which have hitherto appeared in him. Never did Monarch come to the throne at a more critical period; the nation, flushed with conquest, yet tired of war; expecting the lowest submission from their humbled enemies, yet murmuring under the immense load of their taxes. One part of the people acquiring immense wealth by the continuance of hostilities; another reduced almost to bankruptcy. Besides this, he saw the throne surrounded by ignorance and faction, men intent only on their own interests, and willing to persuade Monarchy that whatever conducted to their own wishes was directed for the welfare of the kingdom. It was in this disposition of things, that George III. came to the crown. The kingdom began to divide into two parties; or, more properly speaking, the very same individuals seemed to wear, at once, a face of joy and discontent. They felt all the triumphs of their successes, but justly dreaded the consequences of an expensive continuance of them. The numberless victories they gained by sea continued to keep them in spirits, and induced them to supply the immense expences of the year with chearfulness. During the whole period of the war succeeding the execution of Admiral Byng, nothing could be carried on with more spirit and resolution, than all our naval engagements. In every enterprize the superior

rior bravery, and skill of the English were obvious. Often with forces very much disproportioned, they took their adversaries ships, and effectually disabled their forces by sea.

No history can furnish examples of such numerous fleets, or more active commanders. This desire for victory seemed even to diffuse itself to the lowest officers; and the captains of privateers seemed as much enamoured of conquest as with a desire of gain. The Admirals Hawke, Howe, Boscawen, Pocock, &c. were always victorious; the Captains Tyrrel, Foster, Gilchrist, Lockhart, and others, often fought at a disadvantage, but never without honour. As an instance of the intrepid spirit of our seamen in this war, I shall mention one action which posterity, if it were only singly supported, might look upon as incredible. The annals of mankind cannot shew an effort of more desperate courage than was exerted under the command of captain William Death, commander of the Terrible privateer. He had, in the beginning of his cruize, made prize of a rich merchant-ship, and with this was returning home to England in triumph, when he had the misfortune to fall in with the Vengeance privateer of St. Malo, much his superior in force, he having but twenty-six guns, the enemy thirty-six, and a proportionable number of men. The Terrible's prize was soon taken, and converted against her; but though so unequally matched, captain Death maintained a furious engagement that cannot be paralleled in the annals of any country. The French commander and his second were killed, with two-thirds of his company; but much more dreadful was the slaughter on board the Terrible. When the enemy boarded it, they only found one
scene

scene of slaughter, silence and desolation. Of two hundred men only sixteen were found remaining, and the ship itself so shattered as scarcely to be kept above water.

Such were the dear-bought naval victories of France; and such was the obstinacy of the English, even when defeated, that the court of Versailles, at length, seemed to entreat peace at any rate. To this request the English were ready to accede, and Plenipotentiaries were sent from either court to negotiate so wished-for a reconciliation. France sent to London Mr. Bussy, a man rather skilled in the arts of negotiation, than the open integrity becoming the minister of a great nation. England sent over, in exchange, Mr. Stanley, to Paris.

It seemed to be a fundamental principle in this treaty, which, however, proved ineffectual, that each country was to be considered as possessors of their respective conquests; and that if any such were to be given up on one side, it was to be only in exchange for such as had been made by the other. Upon these terms it is obvious, that the English were likely to be great gainers by a treaty, as they had taken several places and dominions from the French, and had lost only Minorca. Whether the French had a real desire to proceed upon such terms is uncertain; however, they soon gave the English ministry sufficient reasons to be dissatisfied with their proceedings. Mr. Pitt, who had for a long time been successful, and actuated all the English measures, and guided their councils, had ever disdained that pedantry of political refinement, of which others so vainly boasted; he negotiated, therefore, in a plain simple manner; his guide, sincerity; and his only object, his country's good. Several points were agreed on
between

between each nation, that gave great hopes that an accommodation might speedily be the result. The French agreed to give up all Canada, a fort upon the river Senegal in Africa, and to restore Minorca. The chief objects in debate were, the privilege they claimed of continuing to fish upon the banks of Newfoundland, and of having the damages repaired which they sustained by the taking of their shipping before a declaration of war. These two points were warmly negotiated on either side, not without hopes of speedy adjustment, when, unexpectedly, the whole treaty was, at once, set aside by the interposition of the Spanish minister, who desired to have the interests of Spain also included in the treaty. Mr. Pitt very justly considered, that as Spain had no part in the war, so it was impertinent in that power to intermeddle in a treaty of peace; and he regarded this interposition in its true light, namely, that of a confederacy between France and Spain mutually to support each other's interest. Confident therefore of his own integrity, and, perhaps, also, too much elated by popular applause, he began to treat the French negotiator with a great share of haughtiness, of which he complained to his court at home, and he was soon recalled.

This conduct of Mr. Pitt might have justly incurred reproach, had he received no private intimations of a secret alliance between France and Spain. The last named power had actually entered into a family compact with France, by which they engaged to carry on a war in conjunction. Of this the English secretary had been previously apprized, and proposed in the privy council to anticipate the designs of Spain by an immediate declaration of war against her. Vigour, dispatch, and
reso-

resolution, characterized all the plans of this minister; he found, however, in the privy council men who were willing to act with more deliberation, and who desired a certainty of offence before they demanded a reparation. Spain, they said, has yet given no certain proofs of her hostile intentions; and the English minister at the court of Madrid still continues to assure us of their pacific intentions. These remonstrances were answered by the secretary, but without producing the desired conviction; seeing himself therefore almost singular in his opinion, no one concurring with him in opinion but Earl Temple, he was resolved to leave an assembly where he knew himself ill treated; and he threw up the direction of measures, which, to use his own expression, he was no longer allowed to guide. The council was, at that time, divided between two parties, who were both equally pleased at his resignation. One part consisted of those who were at the head of affairs during the preceding reign; the other, such as had been taken into favour in this; neither were displeased at the removal of a man whose popularity threw them into the shade, and whose firmness controuled their moderation. But the removal of this popular minister, did not restore unanimity to the council. The parts which were held together by his presence, now disunited, and a dissension began, which still continues to subsist.

The declaration of war with Spain, soon after, shewed how well-grounded Mr. Pitt's measures were, when he proposed a former rupture. However, the union of France and Spain, and the disunion of our own ministry at home, did not seem to retard the progress of our arms. The island of Martinico was conquered by Admiral Rodney and
General

General Monckton ; the island of St. Lucia surrendered soon after to Captain Harvey ; Grenada was taken by Brigadier Walsh ; and all the neutral islands submitted to the English dominion. But a bolder blow was struck against the Spaniards ; a powerful fleet, and an army of fifteen thousand men, was sent against the Havannah, the key of all their possessions in South America. It made a noble resistance ; but in the end was taken. And now the enemies of Great Britain were humbled on every side ; the French left without trade or shipping ; the source of Spanish opulence interrupted ; nothing remained for them, but to ask for peace, upon such terms as we were pleased to grant. A negotiation was accordingly once more begun between the three powers, by the intervention of the King of Sardinia's ambassador ; the Duke of Bedford was sent over to Paris, and the Duc de Nivernois came to London ; and, at length, the definitive treaty was signed at Paris by the Duke of Bedford, the Duc de Praslin, and the Marquis de Grimaldi, and arrived in London February 19, 1763. In order to purchase peace, the French gave up all Canada, their right to the neutral islands, the fort of Senegal, and their right of fishing on the coasts of Newfoundland and the gulph of St. Lawrence, but at a certain distance from shore. Spain also gave up, on her part, the extensive country of Florida ; so that the English empire was thus greatly enlarged ; and, if we compute its strength by the quantity of land included in its dominions, it can now boast of more power than even the great Roman empire.

But no country should build upon remote strength ; true power must always subsist at home. When the branches of a large empire become more

powerful than the original stem, instead of assisting its growth, they only overload and exhaust its nourishment. The discontents, therefore, which many have expressed at the conclusion of the late peace, that we did not insist upon harder terms, and increase our possessions, were ill founded, since it is probable we are already possessed of more than government can manage. There is ever a certain extent of empire which politics are able to wield; beyond this her magnificence is but empty pomp, and her size but corpulence.

I am, &c.



A

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

OF THE

S U C C E S S I O N

OF THE

KINGS of ENGLAND, &c.

TABLE I.

Of the Saxon Heptarchy.

	A. D.
1. VORTIGERN, first King of Kent,	— 455
2. Ella, first King of the South Saxons, } Ethelwolp, first Christian King,	488
3. Cherdick, first King of the West Saxons, Hingels, first Christian King.	519
4. Ella and Ida, the first Kings of Northumberland, Edwin, first Christian King.	527
5. Cerdan, first King of Mercia, Peada the first Christian King.	— 582
6. Uffa, the first King of the East-Angles, Redwald the first Christian King, and Edmond the last.	— 775

N 2

TABLE

A. D.

TABLE II.

*Of the chief British Princes who contended with the Saxons
for their country's right.*

1. Vortigern, Vortimer his son, and Aurelius Ambrosius from 393, to	—	—	497
2. Uter Pendragon,	—	—	497
3. Arthur, son of Pendragon,	—	—	516
4. Constantine, son of Cador,	—	—	542
5. Aurelius Conanus,	—	—	545
6. Vortiporus,	—	—	578
7. Malgo Conanus,	—	—	581
8. Caractacus,	—	—	586
9. Cadwin,	—	—	635
10. Cadwallo, or Cadwallin, his son, Gulielmus and Faustinus archbishops of Canterbury.	—	—	635
11. Cadwallader, son of Cadwallo,	—	—	685

TABLE III.

The most noted Kings of the Saxon heptarchy were

1. Hengist, King of Kent, &c.	—	—	455
2. Edwin the Great, King of Northumberland,	—	—	626

TABLE IV.

The Saxon Monarchs.

1. Egbert, crowned at Westminster,	—	—	819
2. Ethelwolph, son of Egbert,	—	—	836
3. Ethelbert, first Christian King,	—	—	860
4. Ethelred,	—	—	865
5. Elfred, or Alfred, fourth son of Ethelwolph,	—	—	872
6. Edward, the elder son of Alfred, crowned at Kingston,	—	—	901
7. Ethelstan, crowned at Kingston,	—	—	924
8. Edmund, fifth son of Edward, crowned, Stabbed, and buried at Glastenbury.	—	—	940 946
9. Edred, sixth son of Edward,	—	—	946
10. Edwy, eldest son of Edmund, crowned at Kingston,	—	—	955
11. Ed-	—	—	

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

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A. D.

11. Edgar, furnamed *the peaceable*, crowned at King-
ston by Otho, — — — 959
12. Edward, furnamed the Martyr, crowned at Kingston, 975
13. Ethelred, crowned at Kingston, — 978
14. Edmund, furnamed Ironside, crowned at King-
ston, — — — 1016

TABLE V.

Of the Danes.

1. Canute, crowned at London by Livingius, 1017
2. Harold, base son of Canute, furnamed Harefoot,
crowned at Oxford, — — 1035
3. Hardicanute crowned at London, — 1040

TABLE VI.

*Of the Saxons between the Danes and William the Con-
queror.*

1. Edward, called the Confessor, crowned at Win-
chester, — — — 1042
2. Harold, son of Earl Goodwin, crowned, 1066
William, duke of Normandy landed in Suffex,
Sept. 28.
Battle at Hastings in Suffex, Saturday, Oct. 14.

TABLE VII.

Of the Normans, &c.

1. William the Conqueror crowned, — 1066
2. William Rufus crowned, — — 1087
Shot by accident by Sir Walter Tyrrel, Aug. 1. 1100
3. Henry I. named Beauclerk, crowned at Westminster, 1100
4. Stephen, crowned at Winchester, — 1135

TABLE VIII.

The Saxon line restored.

1. Henry II. called Plantagenet, crowned at West-
minster, — — — 1154
2. Ri-

	A. D.
2. Richard I. crowned at Westminster, —	1189
3. John, crowned at Westminster, —	1199
He surrenders the crown to the Pope's nuncio.	1199
4. Henry III. crowned at Canterbury, —	1216
5. Edward I. surnamed Longshanks, crowned at Westminster, —	1272
6. Edward II. of Caernarvon, crowned, —	1307
7. Edward III. crowned eight days after his father's resignation, —	1327
8. Richard II. crowned in the eleventh year of his age, —	1377
Richard deposed, —	1399

TABLE IX.

Of the line of Lancaster.

1. Henry IV. son of John of Gaunt, third son of Edward III. crowned at Westminster, —	1399
2. Henry V. crowned at Westminster, —	1413
Richard Plantagenet's conspiracy, —	1415
The King lands in Normandy with ten thousand men, and kills sixty thousand at Agincourt.	
3. Henry VI. of Windsor, crowned about the eighth month of his age, —	1422
King Henry crowned at Westminster, —	1431
James Stuart (first of the name) King of Scotland, murdered by his subjects, —	1447

TABLE X.

Line of York.

1. Edward IV. eldest son of Richard Duke of York, crowned at Westminster, —	1461
The Queen crowned at Westminster, and delivered of a daughter named Elizabeth, afterwards married to Henry VII. by which the houses of York and Lancaster were united, —	1466
King Henry restored by parliament, and Edward deemed an usurper, —	1471
Prince Henry, his son, killed at Tewksbury, by order of Edward.	
King Henry stabbed in the Tower by Richard duke	

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

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A. D.

A. D.

1189

duke of Gloucester, about the fiftieth year of his age.

1199

2. Edward V. succeeded his father in the eleventh year of his age, — —

1199

1483

1216

Richard Duke of Gloucester, by his insinuations made protector.

1272

1307

3. Richard III. usurped the throne, and crowned at Westminster, — —

1483

1327

He causes his nephews Edward V. and Richard, to be murdered, and buried obscurely in the

1377

Tower, — — —

1484

1399

TABLE XI.

The families of York and Lancaster united.

1. Henry VII. grandson of John of Gaunt, fourth son of Edward III. crowned at Westminster, Oct. 30,

1485

1399

2. Henry VIII. crowned at Westminster, —

1509

1413

Princess Mary (afterwards Queen) born Feb. 18.

1516

1415

The King abandons Queen Catharine, and is cited to Rome, but refuses, — —

1531

The King marries Anne Bullen.

The Queen brought to bed of a daughter, named Elizabeth, afterwards Queen.

1422

1431

King Henry jealous of Anne Bullen; and Cranmer divorces her.

1447

She is executed in the Tower, May 19.

The King marries Jane Seymour, May 20.

Queen Jane delivered of a son, afterwards Edward VI. and Jane died the third day, —

1537

The King marries Anne, sister of the Duke of Cleves, and divorces her in six months, by the instigation of Archbishop Cranmer, &c.

1540

1461

The King marries lady Catharine Howard.

Queen Catharine Howard accused by Cranmer of incontinence, and, without any trial, beheaded on Tower-hill, Feb. 13. — —

1542

1466

The King marries lady Catharine Parr, —

1543

1471

An act was made, that in case of failure of the issue of Edward his son, the succession to Mary and Elizabeth, — —

1544

duke

TABLE

TABLE XII.

1. Edward VI. son of Henry VIII. crowned at Westminster, ——— 1546
Edward Seymour, earl of Hertford, protector.
2. Mary, eldest daughter of Henry VIII. — 1553
Lady Jane Grey proclaimed, July 10.
Mary proclaimed, July 19.
3. Elizabeth succeeded her half-sister Mary by right, 1558
Mary Queen of Scots married to the Dauphin, 1559
The Queen of Scots, married to Henry Stuart (Lord Darnly) ——— 1565
She is brought to bed of a son, afterwards James I. of England, ——— 1566
Prince James crowned King of Scotland, 1567
Queen of Scots beheaded at Fotheringhay Castle, aged 46, ——— 1587
Prince Charles, afterwards King Charles I. born at Dunferling castle, ——— 1600

TABLE XIII.

Of the union of the two crowns.

1. James I. of England (and VI. of Scotland) son of Henry Stuart, Lord Darnley, and Mary Queen of Scots, ——— 1603

TABLE XIV.

1. Charles I. only surviving son of James, — 1625
His Queen Henrietta Maria lands at Dover, and the marriage consummated at Canterbury, June 13, and arrive at London the 16th.
- Charles, afterwards King, born June 27. 1630
- Prince James (afterwards King) born and baptized at Somersfet house, Oct. 15.
- Princess Anne, born March 17. — 1636
- The Scots begin the war, and Lesley seizes Edinburgh, the regalia, &c. Feb. 20.
- Thomas, Viscount Wentworth, subscribes twenty, and the Duke of Lenox forty thousand pounds, to carry on the war against the Scots, Jan. 12. 1639
The

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

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A. D.

A. D.

1546

1553

1558

1559

1565

1566

1567

1587

1600

The Queen lands in Burlington bay in Yorkshire, with money, arms, and ammunition, Feb. 28. 1642
 Scotch and English army join under command of Lord Fairfax, April 26. 1644
 The battle of Marston-Moor, by the Earl of Manchester, Fairfax, and Lesley.
 Fairfax and Cromwell new model the army, April the 17th. — — — 1645
 Fairfax defeats the King at Naseby, June 14.
 Fairfax returns to London in triumph, Nov. 12.
 The Scots deliver the King up to the English, January 30. — — — 1646
 The King taken at Holmby house in Northamptonshire, by cornet Joyce, Feb. 16.
 The King made close prisoner, Jan, 17. 1647
 Lord Fairfax died at York, March 13.
 The Duke of York escapes to Holland, April 22. 1648
 The King brought from Windsor to St. James's, Jan. 15.
 The King brought to a trial, Jan. 27.
 Beheaded, Jan. 30, in the forty-ninth year of the King's age, and twenty-fourth of his reign.

TABLE XV.

1603

1625

1630

1636

1639

The

Charles II. arrives at Jersey, Sept. 19. — 1649
 The King arrives at Scotland, June 23. — 1650
 The King proclaimed at Edinburgh cross, July 15.
 Cromwell invades Scotland, July 22.
 Charles II. enters England by Carlisle, at the head of sixteen thousand men, and is proclaimed King, Aug. 6. — — — 1651
 At Worcester the King's forces are routed, Sept. 3.
 The Speaker of the House, &c. meets Cromwell at Acton, and conducts him to London in triumph, Sept. 12.
 The King arrives at Forſcan near Havre de Grace in France, Oct. 22.
 A sea fight in which Blake beats De Wit the Dutch Admiral, Oct. 28.
 Cromwell's members chuse Rouse for their Speaker, July 4 and 5.
 ——— proclaimed Lord Protector in London, Westminster, &c. &c. December.

N 5

Cromwell

A. D.

- Cromwell taken ill, Aug. 12, and died Sept. 3, after being protector four years, eight months, and eighteen days; aged sixty, — 1658
- Rich. Cromwell proclaimed Lord Protector, Sept. 4.
- Prince Henry (the King's brother) created Duke of Gloucester, May 13, — — 1659
- The city of London, and the fleet, declare for his Majesty, May 3, — — 1660
- The King proclaimed in London and Westminster, May 8.
- The King proclaimed in Ireland, May 14.
- The King lands at Dover, and is received by general Monk, May 25.
- Regicides executed, from the 10th to the 19th of October.
- Princess Mary, eldest daughter to the Duke of York, (married afterwards to William Henry Nassau Prince of Orange) born April 30, — 1662
- Lady Anne, second daughter to the Duke of York, (afterwards Queen of England) born at St. James's, Feb. 6.
- Princess Mary married to the Prince of Orange at St. James's, Nov. 4, — — 1677
- The commons order a bill to disable the Duke of York to succeed to the crown, May 15, 1679
- Lord Stafford convicted of high treason, and beheaded, Dec. 29, — — 1680
- William lord Russel, and the Earl of Essex, with Walcot, Hone, and Rouse, are convicted of high-treason, and sentenced to death, July 13.
- Lord Russel beheaded in Lincoln's-inn-fields, July the 21st.
- Algernon Sidney convicted of being in the plot, and beheaded on Tower-hill, Dec. 7.
- The King died at White-hall in the fifty-fifth year of his age, and the thirty-seventh year of his reign; buried in Westminster-abbey.

TABLE XVI.

- James II. proclaimed King, Feb. 6, — 1684
- The Duke of Monmouth proclaimed King at Taunton, June 20, — — 1685
- The Duke of Argyle beheaded at Edinburgh, June the 30th. The

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

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A. D.

A. D.

1658

1659

1660

1661

1677

1679

1680

1684

1685

The

- The Duke of Monmouth defeated near Bridgewater, July 6, — — — 1685
- Monmouth beheaded on Tower-hill, in the thirty-sixth year of his age, July 15.
- The King publishes a declaration for liberty of conscience to all sects, April 4, — — — 1687
- The King sends his mandate to Magdalene college, Oxon, to elect Mr. Anthony Farmer, (a Roman Catholic) their president, April 11.
- The Pope's nuncio admitted to an audience of their Majesties at Windsor, July 3.
- The Prince of Orange lands at Torbay, Nov. 1.
- Lord Cornbury, Lord Churchill, the Duke of Grafton, and many other Lords join the Prince of Orange, Nov. 22.
- The Prince of Denmark, and the Duke of Ormond, desert the King, Nov. 24.
- The Queen and the young Prince, embark for France, Dec. 9.
- The King sends orders to the Earl of Feverham to disband the army, and takes water at White-hall stairs for France, Dec. 10.
- The Prince of Orange arrives at Windsor.
- The King returns to White-hall, Dec. 16.
- The Prince of Orange issues a declaration for all officers, magistrates, &c. to keep their places (except Papists) till further orders, Dec. 30.
- The Archbishop, and seven other Bishops, sign the association, Jan. 16, — — — 1688
- The Commons resolve that the throne is vacated, Jan. 31.
- The Lords agree to the same, Feb. 2.
- K. James II. reigned three years, nine months, and eleven days; the throne vacant two months and three days.
- The Princess of Orange arrives at White-hall, February the 12th.

TABLE XVII.

William Henry and Mary, Prince and Princess of Orange, proclaimed King and Queen with the usual solemnity, February 13.

The

A. D.

The Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of Gloucester, Ely, Norwich, Bath, Wells, and Peterborough, refuse to take the oaths to King William, March 1.

King James sails from Brest with a body of French troops to Ireland, March 5.

The King and Queen crowned at Westminster, by the Bishop of London, April 11. — 1689

War declared against France, May 7.

Princess Anne delivered of a son, who was christened William, and afterwards created Duke of Gloucester, July 24.

King William embarks for Ireland, June the 11th.

The King enters triumphant into Dublin, July 3.

Limerick, in Ireland, surrendered to the English, which puts an end to the wars there, Oct. 3, 1691

Queen Mary taken with the small-pox at Kensington, Dec. 21.

— died in the thirty-third year of her age, and in the sixth year of her reign, Dec. 28, 1694

WILLIAM III.

The massacre at Glenco, by the Earl of Argyle's regiment, May 9. — 1695

Peace with France proclaimed in London, Oct. 19, 1697

A fire at White-hall which consumed the whole, except the banquetting-house, Jan. 4.

The Czar of Muscovy came to London, Jan. 11.

King James II. died of a lethargy at St. Germain's in France, in the eighty-sixth year of his age, Sept. 6, — — — 1701

An act passed the royal Assent for the attainder of the pretended Prince of Wales of high treason; and from this he was called the Pretender in common, March 2.

King William died at Kensington, in the fifty second year of his age, and fourteenth of his reign, and was buried in Henry the VIIIth's chapel in Westminster-abbey.

TABLE

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

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A. D.

T A B L E XVIII.

- Queen Anne, the only surviving child of James II.
by the lady Anne Hyde, eldest daughter of Ed-
ward Earl of Clarendon.
- The Queen crowned at Westminster, April 23, 1702
- War declared against France by the Queen, the Em-
peror and the States-General.
- The confederate fleet, under the Prince of Hesse,
land a large body of troops in the bay of Gi-
braltar, and attacked that place, July 21, and it
surrendered, July 24, 1704
- The Duke of Marlborough obtained a complete
victory over the Elector of Bavaria and Marshal
Villeroy, at Ramilies, May 12. 1706
- Articles of Union between England and Scotland,
signed by the commissioners of both kingdoms,
July 22.
- George Augustus, electoral Prince of Hanover, cre-
ated Baron of Tewksbury, Viscount Northallerton,
Earl of Milford-haven, Marquis and Duke of
Cambridge, Oct. 5.
- The French and Spaniards intirely defeat the con-
federates at Almanza, April 14. 1707
- The first parliament of Great-Britain met, Oct. 23.
- The Duke of Marlborough levels all the French
lines between Ypres and Lys, and puts all Picar-
dy under contribution, July 29.
- The Island of Minorca, with the commodious har-
bour of Port-Mahon, taken by General Stanhope,
and forced to pay obedience to Charles III. of
Spain, Sept. 30.
- Ghent surrendered to the Duke of Marlborough,
Dec. 30.
- The Duke of Marlborough turned out of all his
places, posts, or employments, Dec. 30. 1711
- The Duke of Ormond constituted Captain-General
of all her Majesty's forces in Great-Britain,
Jan. 1.
- Spain, by the treaty of peace signed at Utrecht,
acknowledges the Protestant succession, and yields
Gibraltar, Minorca, and Port Mahon, to Great-
Britain, &c. July 13. 1713
- The

A. D.

The fortifications of the harbour, and also the citadel of Dunkirk, entirely demolished, April 26, 1714
 Queen Anne died in the fiftieth year of her age, and the thirteenth of her reign, Aug. 1.

TABLE XIX.

GEORGE II.

George, Elector of Brunswick and Lunenburgh, succeeded to the crown, Aug. 1. — 1714
 King George crowned at Westminster, Oct. 20. —
 Lewis XIV. King of France, died Aug. 20. 1715
 Charles XII. King of Sweden, killed at Frederickshall, Nov. 20. — 1718
 War declared against Spain, Dec. 16. —
 Lewis XV. of France, crowned at Rheims, Oct. 15. 1722
 Philip V. King of Spain, resigns his crown to his eldest son, Don Lewis, Jan. 4. — 1723
 Pope Innocent XIII. died Feb. 25. —
 George I. King of Great-Britain, Elector of Brunswick Lunenburgh, &c. died at Osnabrugh in Germany, being in the sixty-eighth year of his age, and thirteenth year of his reign, June 10. 1727

TABLE XX.

George II. proclaimed King the 27th of June, 1727
 The Spaniards continue their depredations in America, Jan. — 1728
 The Princess of Wales delivered of a Prince the 24th of May, who was christened George, our present most gracious sovereign, — 1738
 Admiral Vernon took Porto-Bello, Nov. 5. 1739
 Lord Cathcart and Admiral Vernon take fort Chagre from the Spaniards, March 24, — 1740
 The Spaniards invade Georgia, and are repulsed, 1742
 The Earl of Stairs sent into Flanders. The battle of Dettingen, June 16. — 1743
 The unsuccessful engagement off Toulon, between Admiral Matthews's fleet and the combined squadrons of France and Spain, — 1744
 War declared against France, March 10, — 1745
 The battle of Fontenoy, April 30.

The

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

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A. D.

The Chevalier lands in Scotland, July 27,	1745
Enters Edinburgh, Aug. 17.	
Defeats Sir John Cope, Sept. 21.	
Takes Carlisle, Nov. 15.	
The battle of Falkirk, Jan. 17.	
The decisive victory over the rebels at Culloden, April 15.	
An unsuccessful attempt against Port l'Orient,	1746
Anson and Warren intercept the French fleet, May 30,	1747
The battle of Val, June 21.	
The general peace by the treaty of Aix la Chapelle proclaimed at London, Feb. 22.	1749
Forts erected at the back of the British settlements in America,	1752
Attempts to seize Nova Scotia,	1754
Boscawen sent to protect that province,	1755
Braddock defeated, July 9.	
King George II. dies Oct. 25, aged 77, after a reign of 34 years,	1760

T A B L E XXI.

Our present Sovereign George III. succeeds to the throne, Oct. 25.	1760
His nuptials with the Princess Charlotte of Mecklenburgh Strelitz, solemnized, Sept. 11.	1761
His coronation, Sept. 22.	
Preliminary articles of peace signed at Fontainebleau, Nov. 3.	
Definitive treaty signed at Paris, and arrives in London, Feb. 19.	1763
Peace proclaimed, but not received with that Demonstration of Joy, usually expressed on such occasions, March 22.	

Chas. Jones & Co. Jan 1863

The above is a statement of the
amount of money received by
the undersigned from the
sale of the property of
the late John Jones
and is subject to the order
of the undersigned.

13 JY 63

Witness my hand and seal
this 13th day of July 1863
at New York

[I]

THE
PROGRESS

ARTS and SCIENCES,
AND A
CHRONOLOGICAL SERIES
OF
REMARKABLE EVENTS.

By JAMES ANDERSON, and other AUTHORS.

155. **T**HE City of Dublin anciently called Ashcled, took its present name from Alpinus, a King, or rather a great Lord or chief among the Irish: he lost his son in battle, and his daughter, whose name was Auliana, was drowned in the river Liffey, at the ford where the Old Bridge now stands; but in order to perpetuate her memory, he changed the name of Ashcled to that of Auliana, which having a resemblance to Ptolomy's Eblana, was corrupted into Dubliana. Alpinus is the first mentioned in History to have formed the rude hill into a town, about the year of Christ 155. Some writers have called Dublin by the name of Bala-Ath-Cliath, or the town upon the Ford or Hurdles.

162. No other law in Ireland, but that of Retaliation, viz: an Eye for an Eye, &c.

394. St. Patrick taken by pirates and brought into Ireland at 16 years of age, where he lived 6 years tending a herd of cattle near the mountain Mifs in the county of Antrim; but being set at liberty, he was again taken in about two years, and brought a second time into Ireland, where he remained but 60 days, as he went on a pilgrimage to Rome. He was born in Tibernia now part of Scotland, near the castle of Dunbritain, in the year of our Lord 378.

432. Palladius first preached the gospel in Ireland, but without success.

St. Patrick arrived in Ireland by commission from Pope Celestinus I. to complete the conversion of the Irish. He fixed his residence at Armagh, of which he was the first Bishop. His original name was Succathus, that is, valiant in war.

455. The cathedral of Armagh was founded by St. Patrick, on a scite granted by one Dair.

City of Venice founded.

488. St. Mela, the first bishop of the cathedral of Ardagh; he was a sister's son of St. Patrick.

492. St. Patrick died the 17th of March, in the abbey of Saul, which he built, and where he was buried, about two miles distance from Down, being 114 years old.

496. The French receive Christianity.

500. St. Bridget's church at Kildare built.

The famous men of the fifth century in Ireland; St. Albe, Dubtach, Flach, Benigne, Sedulius, Ferdeline, St. Catald, Kienan, &c.

501. The archiepiscopal church of Tuam was founded sometime before this period by St. Jarlath.

503. Fergus, brother to Mortough king of Ireland, invaded North-Britain, founded the famous kingdom of Scotland, and was the first king crowned there, and upon the famous Irish stone which he borrowed from his brother the king of Ireland; which was removed to Westminster by Edward I. in 1296, where it remains inclosed in a wooden chair, in which the kings of England receive the Crown. In the days of superstition it was said that this stone groaned on the coronation of a king.

530. St. Finian established a school at Cleonard on the river Boyne.

545. The monastery of Derry built by St. Columbe.

546. The Abbey of Londonderry built.

560. St. Mary's church in the King's County built.

Forty Benedictine Monks with Augustin at their head, arrived in England to convert Ethelbert.

599. Mahomet, the false prophet, born at Mecca.
600. Aghave church in the Queen's County built.
Eminent persons who flourished in the 6th century in Ireland; St. Columbe Cille, St. Finian, St. Jarlath, St. Brendan, St. Congal, St. Kenny, St. Colman, St. Bridget, St. Ita, with many others.
The Episcopal church of Ross built by St. Fachnan.
604. The episcopal church of Cloyne founded sometime before this period by St. Colman.
Clocks first used in churches.
622. Mahometanism commences.
630. The cathedral of Cork founded by St. Finbarr.
636. The cathedral of Lismore built by St. Carthagh, its first bishop.
639. The episcopal church of Killaloe was founded about this time, by the contribution of different kings.
670. Building with stone, and glass first used.
684. The English invade Ireland, but retire with great loss.
689. A great pestilence which held eleven years.
728. Masonry, painting, and glazing first brought into England by Bendeck.
732. When the first Round Towers began to be built in Ireland, which from their situation being frequently in valleys, and from the manner of constructing them, their design seems to be no other, than to perpetuate some remarkable battle, and that where they are built, is the sepulchre of the slain.
795. The Danes first invaded Ireland.
828. Egbert first sole monarch of England.
835. The Norwegians under the command of Turgesius, destroyed almost all Leinster, Connaught, and Meath.
840. Extirpation of the Picts out of England.
852. Armagh destroyed by the Danes on Easter-day.
872. The university of Oxford founded; that of Paris about the same time.
901. The cathedral of Cashel, is said to have been built some time before this period.
902. The Danes with a vast fleet were overthrown by the people of Dublin, with a great slaughter.
908. The Psalter of Cashel is said to be compiled by Cormac, king and bishop there.
912. The Danes invade England.
938. The bible translated into the Saxon or old English, by order of Athelstan.
948. St. Mary's abbey near Dublin built for monks of the Benedictine order.

956. A great battle fought between the people of Dublin and those of Leinster, wherein the latter were defeated.

1002. The Danes in England destroyed by a commission from the King, on the 30th of November.

1027. Bryen Boiroidmhe, elected King of Ireland. This great monarch repaired the monasteries and churches the Danes had destroyed; and settled religion upon its ancient footing; he built public schools and libraries, and erected new academies.

1038. Christ-Church, Dublin, built by Sitricus the son of Amlave, King of the Ostmen of Dublin, and Donat, its first Bishop, who intended it for secular canons; but in the year 1163, it was possessed by the regular order of Arras.

1039. The famous battle of Clontarf fought on Good-Friday between the Irish and Danes: after a long and bloody engagement, victory declared for the Irish. Bryen Boiroidmhe soon after died of his wounds. In this battle fell his son Murchard, and many of the nobility: the Danes lost 11,000 men. After the battle Sitricus with such of the Danes as remained, retired to Dublin.

1052. The Cathedral of Kilkenny supposed to have been built about this time by St. Canice.

1084. Dublin erected into a bishopric; whose first bishop was one Patrick an Easterling, and chosen by the city, who sent him to England, to be consecrated by Lanfranc Archbishop of Canterbury; and in 1152, had the Archiepiscopal dignity added to it, as well as to Armagh, Cashel and Tuam by Pope Eugene III.

1087. Doomsday-book compiled.

1089. An university in Armagh of considerable splendor, erected by St. Patrick.

1091. Five hundred houses in London, were blown down by a tempest.

1096. The cathedral of Waterford built by the Ostmen, and Malchus its first bishop.

The first Croisade or Holy-War undertaken by the Christian princes, with three hundred thousand men.

1099. Westminster-hall built by William Rufus, who sent to Turlough, then King of Ireland, for the timber, which was granted.

1146. The first Nunnery was erected in Dublin.

1155. London-bridge built of wood.

1164. The cathedral of Derry was built by Flathbert O-Brolcan its first bishop; in this he was assisted by Maurice M'Loghlin, King of Ireland.

1166. Dermot King of Leinster, founded the priory of All-Souls near Dublin for Canons of the order of Aroasia.

1168. Roderic O'Connor put Dermot, King of Leinster to flight, for committing a rape upon the wife of Teighernan O'Rourke, King of Breifne. Dermot being expelled his kingdom, fled to England to solicit assistance from Henry II. who being engaged in a war with France, referred him to Strongbow, Earl of Pembroke, then at Bristol, who, on a promise of the King's daughter (Eva) in marriage, raised men, and came over with him, and soon recovered his territories.

1170. The English first land in Ireland.

1171. Henry II. grants to Strongbow the whole province of Leinster.

Dublin taken by Raymond le Gros.

1172. Henry II. lands in Ireland with four hundred knights and five thousand men at arms, on the 18th of October at Waterford, and is crowned King of Ireland.

The clergy confirm the kingdom to him.

Henry II. on his arrival in Ireland, after receiving the homage of the Kings, made a Circuit, and on his return to Dublin, directed a royal palace to be built near St. Andrew's church, which was executed with *wattles*, and is said to be without the town of Dublin.

Thus ended the Monarchy of the Milesians, or ancient Irish, which commenced above two thousand five hundred years before, in the persons of Heber and Heremon, two of the sons of Milesius King of Spain.

Ireland divided into counties, when the office of sheriff was appointed.

The English laws introduced into that kingdom.

1173. Richard de Clare, surnamed Strongbow, appointed Lord Warden of Ireland, with Raymond de Grosse.

A Colony from Bristol settles in Dublin, to whom it was granted by Henry II.

Henry II. embarks for England, leaving Hugh Lacy at Dublin to govern the island in his name, with the title of justiciary of Ireland.

1174. Richard Strongbow erected the order of Knights Templars at Kilmainham near Dublin.

The Earl of Strongbow died in Dublin of a mortification in his foot, and was buried in Christ Church.

1177. John Earl of Moreton, son of King Henry, landed in Ireland.

Almarick de St. Laurence, and his son Nicholas were wounded in an engagement with the Ulster Irish in the coun-

ty of Down, under the command of John Courcy, when 15,000 were killed; he was ancestor to the barons of Howth, and to him K. John, then Earl of Moreton, granted the lands of Howth.

Canons of St. Victor erected in Dublin.

1178. A relic called Jesus's staff brought from Armagh to Christ Church, Dublin, which was very profitable to the canons.

The Abbey at Monastereven built by Dermot O'Dempsey, king of Offaly.

1185. John de Courcy, earl of Ulster, first lord lieutenant of Ireland.

1186. Stephen Riddel, the first Lord Chancellor appointed in Dublin.

1188. Priory of St. John in Thomas-street, without Newgate founded by Alured de Palmer.

1190. St. Patrick's in Dublin began to be built by James Comyn, Archbishop of Dublin, where stood the old parochial church.

Great part of Dublin consumed by an accidental fire.

1192. The cathedral of Kilkenny built.

Richard I. taken prisoner by Leopold Duke of Austria. Castles of Kilkenny and Kingsale built.

1200. The Abbey of St. Peter and Paul in the county of Clare built.

1201. The republic of Pisa assumed the sovereignty of the neighbouring seas, which they soon lost to the Genoese.

The Kings of France were without ships or sea ports.

Antwerp fortified, and several cities founded in Holland and Flanders.

Astronomy and Geography brought into Europe by the Moors of Barbary.

Charters granted to several towns in England.

1204. The Danes enriched by a vast herring-fishery on the coast of Schonen.

Where Amsterdam now stands, there was only a small castle and village.

The Plague carried off numbers in Dublin.

1205. The word Parliament first used. And the commons were admitted at this time, though the people were not regularly represented; see 1266, 1283.

Henry de Londres, archbishop of Dublin, began the building of the castle of Dublin.

1027. The first mayor and sheriffs of London.

1208. London's first free Charter for electing its own Magistrates.

1209.

1209. Venice gains the Silk-manufactures from Greece. Black Monday; so called on account of the slaughter committed by the Irish, on a great number of the Bristol people, who inhabited Dublin, and went out to divert themselves in Cullen's wood on Easter Monday, when the mountain enemies fell upon them, and destroyed five hundred men, besides women and children.

1210. Pence and Farthings were coined in Ireland by order of King John.

Courts of judicature erected in Dublin; as were Judges of Assize, to whom an Abstract of the English laws were delivered for their government, appointing twelve English shires with Sheriffs and other Officers to rule.

1212. London Bridge built of stone.

1213. The castle of Dublin completed by bishop Cummin.

1216. Magna Charta signed by King John and his barons on the 15th of June at Runnymede near Windsor.

Cashel erected into a borough by Donchad O'Lonargan, Archbishop there.

1218. Black Priory of St. Andrew in Ardes, county of Down, built.

1223. Wheat in England at 1l. 16s. of our money per quarter.

1224. The customs paid in Dublin, were three pence for every sack of wool, six-pence for every last of hides, and two-pence for every barrel of wine.

Cathedral of Drogheda built.

1227. St. Mary's priory at Molingar built.

1228. Yarmouth becomes considerable for its fishery.

1234. Fresh-herring pasties good for Kings.

Straw used for the King's bed.

1236. Antelamus made bishop of Armagh, and primate of all Ireland.

1237. Water conveyed in leaden pipes to London, through Tyburn-fields.

1240. England miserably drained of its money by the Popes, to the amount of 120,000l. per annum of our modern money, equal in point of expence of living to 720,000l. in our days.

Hugh de Lacy, Earl of Ulster, was raised to the dignity of an Earl by King John, with the ceremony of girding on the sword; he was also the founder of a friary in Down.

1246. Wheat sold for 2s. per quarter, i. e. 6s. of our money.

Most of the houses of London covered with thatch.

1247. A marvellous and strange earthquake over Ireland, England, and all the Western world, which held near three months.

1248. A company of wool-merchants settled in London.

1250. Norwich becomes considerable.

1251. A new Coinage in Dublin.

1252. Dominican friary at Sligo built.

1253. Some fine linen made in England.

1255. Church of Longford built.

1257. The first College erected in Cambridge.

1258. Stephen Longsword, Lord Justice of Ireland gave battle to O'Neill, and the rebels of Ulster at Down, when he slew three hundred and fifty-two, with O'Neill.

1262. The petty Kings of Ireland own themselves vassals to the English crown.

1263. Balliol college in Oxford founded.

A great commotion between the prior of Christ-Church, Dublin, and the commonalty of the City, about the tythe fish of the river Liffey.

1266. The Citizens of Dublin excommunicated by *bell, book and candle*, for encroaching on the Church: and from whom the Church required a sum of money for a public sin; and if repeated to be cudgelled about the church.

Cities and Boroughs first represented in parliament.

1267. Fryers Preachers arrive in Ireland and settle at Ross and Wexford, and the Minors at Kilkenny, and in two years after at Clonmell.

1268. The annual customs paid at the Port of London amounted to little more than 2000*l.* of our money.

1274. The first commercial treaty between England and Flanders.

1275. London lends the Crown 16,000*l.* of our modern money.

1276. The Castle of Roscommon taken by the Irish, and a great overthrow given to the English.

1279. The famous Mortmain-Act passed in Parliament, which limited religious foundations and corporate societies in the extent of their Revenue.

The Italians were at this time the Coiners of English money.

Two hundred and eighty Jews hanged for clipping and coining.

Four-penny pieces, pence, half-pence, and farthings, were coined, and directed to pass current in England and Ireland.

1283. The English Parliament constituted of Knights, Citizens,

Citizens, and Burgeſſes, as well as Lords ſpiritual and temporal. But the Representatives of cities and towns ſat in a chamber ſeparate from the Barons and Knights. Yet ſeveral counties had no parliament-towns. Cheſter petitioned for this privilege in 1544.

A great part of Dublin and Chriſt-Church burnt.

1285. Murders, robberies, riots, and burning of houſes very frequent in England.

London's Water-conduits completed.

1288. Wheat in England at four-pence the buſhel.

1290. Fifteen thouſand Jews baniſhed England.

1295. Firſt inſtance of Letters of Marque and Reprisal.

1296. Hull in Yorkſhire founded and fortified, by King Edward I.

1297. Firſt mention of the office of Admiral of the Engliſh ſeas.

1299. Fine Earthen-ware invented in Italy,—Spectacles,—and Windmills.

The King's palace at Weſtminſter burnt.

1300. From this time to 1500, the Merchandize of the Eaſt-Indies was brought into Europe by way of the Red ſea and the Nile, and ſometimes up the Euphrates, and by Caravans to Aleppo.

The Venetians alone had the art of making looking-glaſſes.

Some few clocks were uſed in Italy.

In the towns of France, Germany, and England, they had ſcarce any but thatched houſes: and the ſame might be ſaid of the poorer towns in Italy.

And although theſe countries were over-run with woods, they had not as yet learned to guard againſt the cold by the means of chimnies [the kitchen excepted] an invention ſo uſeful and ornamental to our modern apartments. The cuſtom then was, for the whole family to ſit in the middle of a ſmoaky hall, round a large ſtove, the funnel of which paſſed through the cieling.

Laffamma, (ſays Voltaire) who wrote in the fourteenth century, complains that frugality and ſimplicity had given way to luxury. He therefore regrets the times of the Emperor Frederic Barbaroſſa, of the twelfth century, and of the Emperor Frederic II. of the thirteenth century, when in Milan, the capital of Lombardy, they eat fleſh-meat but three times in a week.

Wine was very ſcarce.

They had no idea of wax candles, and even thoſe of tallow were deemed luxury: inſomuch, that even the better ſort of people uſed ſplinters of wood inſtead of candles.

VOL. II.

O

They

They wore woollen shirts.

The most considerable citizens gave not above one hundred livres for their daughter's portions. But now, says Laffamma, we wear linen.

The women dress in silk gowns, some of which are embroidered with gold and silver, and they have two thousand livres for their portions, and have their ears adorned with gold pendants.

Table-linen was scarce in England.

Wine was sold only by Apothecaries as a cordial.

Private men's houses were all of wood in Paris as well as in London.

It was reckoned a kind of luxury to ride in a two-wheeled cart in the ill-paved and dirty streets of Paris, it being forbidden to citizens wives, by Philip the Fair.

Let no one presume (says an Edict of Charles the Sixth) to treat with more than a soup and two dishes.

The use of silver knives and forks, spoons, and cups, was a great piece of luxury.

Money was exceeding scarce in many parts of Italy, and much more in France, in the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries. The Florentines and Lombards, who were then the only people that carried on any trade in France and England, together with the Jews their brokers, usually extorted twenty per cent. for the interest of their money. Great usury is the infallible sign of public poverty.

Yet it was quite otherwise with the great trading cities of Italy, where alone the people enjoyed convenience and opulence; whilst the people of the northern parts of Europe, and also of Spain, had only barbarous feudal customs, uncertain, tumultuous, and superstitious witchcrafts, &c.

FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

1301. A great part of Dublin burnt with St. Werburgh's church; buildings continued to be made with wattles and thatch.

1302. Mariner's Compass invented by an Italian, and improved by the Portuguese and English; by which a voyage could be performed in three months, which before took up three years.

1303. The Swiss republic first formed.

1304. The first instance of the maritime strength of the Hollanders. Forty men a sufficient compliment for the largest ship of war.

1305.

1305. The city of Louvain in Flanders, with the adjacent villages, was said to contain above an hundred and fifty thousand Journeymen weavers.

1306. Money so scarce, that one shilling (equal to three of ours) per day, defrayed the expence of a bishop in prison, with a chaplain and two servants.

1307. Bills of Exchange first in use.

1308. First commercial treaty between England and Portugal, and likewise between England and Spain.

The first mayor and bailiffs in Dublin.

1309. Lord Jeffrey Genvil became a friar at Trim.

1310. The Bakers of Dublin drawn on hurdles, through the streets, tied at horses tails, for using false weights.

The knights hospitaleers of St. John of Jerusalem take Rhodes, and there established the principal seat of their order.

1313. The first bridge was built at Ballybough, by John Decar of Dublin.

1316. England trades to Norway, Brabant, and Bretagne.

The steeple of Christ-Church demolished by a great storm.

1320. Gold first began to be coined in Christendom.

The first College in Dublin was erected in St. Patrick's Dublin.

1323. Ships from Genoa, Sicily, and Venice come to England; but no English ships as yet traded to the Mediterranean.

1325. England's first treaty of commerce with Venice.

1326. First mention of two Admirals in England.

1327. The first broad-cloth made in England by Jack of Newbery.

Saffron first brought into England.

Trades incorporated in London.

Ireland as yet affords no matter for commercial history.

1328. Southampton becomes a considerable port.

1330. Gunpowder invented by a Monk at Cologne, named Schwaitz.

1331. King Edward III. resolves to promote a woollen manufactory in England; and to this end brings seventy families of Walloons into England.

Customs of the port of London amount to 24,000*l.* of our modern money.

A great famine in Ireland.

The bible translated into French by order of Charles V.

The castle of Arkloe taken by the Irish, and a great number of the English slain.

1333. Wheat sold in Dublin at six-pence a bushel.

1336. The Genoese import East-India commodities into England.

Two Brabant weavers settle at York, with the King's protection; as it may prove, said the King, of great benefit to us and our subjects.

On St. Laurence's day the Connaught Irish were put to flight by the English, when they killed 10,000, with the loss of one man only.

1337. Laws enacted for encouraging the woollen manufacture in England.

Holland gains part of the said manufacture from Flanders and Brabant.

1338. Edward III. seizes the tin and wool in England, and sells it in Flanders, in order to pay his army.

A great frost in Ireland, the Liffey in Dublin so frozen as to have all manner of diversions on it.

1339. Looms set up in Bristol for woollen cloth.

Copper coins introduced into Scotland and Ireland.

The Cinque-Ports guard the sea-coasts, in lieu of all taxes.

1340. The Parliament grants the King thirty thousand sacks of wool.

Venice, Genoa, and Spain, have the largest ships in Christendom.

Poland had no silver coin.

Oxford contained thirty thousand Students.

1342. Amsterdam becomes considerable.

Wool is sold per lb. 1s. 3d. halfp. of our money. Shropshire wool bears the best price.

1344. Ireland hath some shipping.

Gold first coined in England.

The Island of Madeira discovered.

1346. Four great guns first used by the English in the battle of Cressly.

Holbourn a bad deep road, and a toll paid at the bars for repairing it.

Calais taken by the English.

1347. Seven hundred and thirty-eight English ships, twenty men to each ship on an average, employed in the siege of Calais.

Yarmouth has more shipping than any one port in England. Doubtful whether London is to be excepted.

St.

St. Stephen's chapel, the present House of Commons built.

1348. A remarkable pestilence raged in Ireland (which came from the Saracens) in Dublin 14,000 people were carried off from the beginning of August to Christmas; and from the Month of May to the translation of St. Thomas, 50,000 bodies were buried in the Seminary, called after that saint.

Norwich eminent in the worsted manufacture.

Great pestilence at Norwich, and at Florence in Italy.

French fashions introduced into England.

1349. A great plague in England.

The Order of the Garter instituted, April 23.

1350. The English going to the Jubilee at Rome, drain England of money.

The Turks get footing in Europe.

1351. Foreign weavers numerous in London.

Groats and half Groats the largest silver coin.

Spaniards permitted to fish on the English coasts.

1352. No trade from England to the Mediterranean.

1353. The Strand not built.

A little village at Charing-Cross.

Gauging of wines, &c. introduced.

1354. Exported from England to the value	£.
of — — — — —	294,184.

Imported during the said year — —	38,970.
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The Balance multiplied by 3, is, in modern money, — — — —	765,644.
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Our only exports were wool, felts, coarse cloths, with some leather.

Iron made in England from the time of the Romans, now forbid to be exported.

1355. Paris now a large city, though not so ancient as London.

The battle of Poitiers, Sept. 19.

1356. The Germanic Constitution established by the Golden Bull.

1357. Coals first exported from Newcastle to London.

Herring-Fair at Yarmouth.

1359. A second justice appointed in Dublin, at the salary of 40l. He had liberty to practise as a Lawyer, notwithstanding he was on the bench.

1360. Italy rich, and France poor.

The famous John Wickliffe, so remarkable for the opposition he gave the Pope, and the order of Mendicants, was in high reputation at Oxford.

Leather-

Leather-money coined in the latter.

1361. A great plague in Ireland and England.

Lionel, Earl of Ulster, third son of Edward III. the first Lord-lieutenant of Ireland.

1362. Law-pleadings enacted to be in English.

1363. Eight sumptuary laws passed in one session of parliament.

1365. Boroughs of Lancashire so poor, they could not afford to send any members to Parliament.

1367. A thousand Citizens in Genoa appear in robes of silk, at the Pope's public entry into that City.

1368. Toll paid to Denmark from ships passing the Sound.

The first Clock-makers in England.

1370. The steeple of St. Patrick's, Dublin, began to be built by Thomas Minot, Archbishop of Dublin, who also repaired the Church which had been much injured by an accidental fire in 1362.

1370. A more violent pestilence than the former, carried off numbers of the people of Ireland.

A frost from September to April.

1371. Tonnage and Poundage first laid in England.

1374. Bristol becomes large and populous.

1375. The common working people in England still in slavery.

1376. Woollen-cloth made in Ireland.

1377. A great rebellion in Kent, headed by Wat Tyler and Jack Straw, at the head of more than 100,000 people.

1379. London has many woods and copses round it.

1380. The city of Louvain loses its manufacture, by an insurrection of the Journeymen Weavers.

The first use of Guns found out by the French.

1381. First Act of Navigation made in England.

1383. A pestilence in Ireland.

1385. Dublin Bridge fell.

1386. A company of Linen-weavers established in London.

1387. First Admiral of all England.

1390. Coarse cloths made at Kendal.

Another Navigation Act, binding English merchants to freight in English ships only.

1391. Playing Cards invented in France for the King's amusement.

Two Crowns of Gold, set with precious stones, with some rich furniture, imported into England from Lucca.

1393. Canary isles discovered.

1394. King Richard II. lands at Waterford in Ireland, Sept. 2. attended with 30,000 foot and 4000 horse, who arriving at Dublin, granted the city a Tax of a penny to be paid annually by every house.

A plague in London which carried off upwards of thirty thousand inhabitants.

1397. The gilling and pickling of herrings invented, which before were all salted and dried for red-herrings.

1398. Foreign Woollen-cloth first prohibited in England.

An English ship at Newcastle of 200 tons.

1399. Richard II. accused of violating his obligation with his people, (his coronation oath) and committed to the Tower by Henry Duke of Lancaster, and was deposed. So observant were they in those early times of the compact, made between king and people.

FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

Though such was the ignorance of this age, (says our Author) that learning was looked on as a sort of heresy, and there were bishops who did not know their letters; in so much, that in their superscriptions to synodal acts, the following words are to be found, namely, *as I cannot read myself, N. N. hath subscribed for me;—or, as my Lord Bishop cannot write himself, at his request I have subscribed;* yet many visible traces are to be discerned of the increase of real knowledge; cities and towns became more populous, and there were many excellent inventions and improvements.

1401. Wickliffe's doctrines spread in England.

1402. Bajazet the Great Turk, taken by Tamerlane.

1403. Henry IV. concludes treaties of peace and commerce between England and Castile, Flanders, Portugal, and France.

1404. The statutes of Kilkenny and Dublin were confirmed in a parliament held in Dublin, under the earl of Ormond, the fifth of Henry IV. as was the charter of Ireland.

1405. Great guns first used in England at the siege of Berwick.

The Irish invaded Wales, and brought from thence the shrine of St. Cubius, and placed it in Christ-Church, Dublin.

Chaucer, the poet, died, aged 72.

1407. The Mayor of Dublin had the privilege of having a gilded sword borne before him, in return for the many services he did the King.

Guild-

Guild-hall built as it now stands: an instance of the wealth of London at that time.

A great plague in London.

1410. Painting in oil colours invented at Bruges.

The arts of architecture, carving, graving, baking fine colours into glass, naming the points of the compass, making watches, clocks, and sun-dials, spread by the Netherlands in Europe.

1413. Sir John Oldcastle prosecuted for heresy, was burnt at St. Giles's in 1418.

1414. The Clergy gave largely to the Crown, for the horrible pleasure of burning the Lollards alive*. [This particular our author mentions, to the eternal infamy of those times; as persecution is ever repugnant to the freedom of commerce, as well as true Christianity; and that religious and civil liberty is all that is worth rational men's contending for in this world.]

Few large towns in the West of England compared to the present time.

1415. The English fish for cod on the coast of Iceland.

Battle of Agincourt, October 24.

1416. Henry V. pays subsidies to German Princes.

The parliament of Ireland removed to Trim, which in these times was held wherever the chief Governor resided, and which from the disturbed state of the kingdom, was very unsettled, as was also the Exchequer.

1417. Paper made of linen-rags invented, according to some Authors.

1418. Gun powder made in England.

1419. Sugar-canes from Sicily planted in Madeira.

Bruges the greatest Emporium in Europe, see 1487.

1421. Total revenue of England 55,754 l.

The earl of Desmond overthrown by the Irish, May 27.

1424. Scotland has a considerable Herring fishery.

Free-masonry prohibited.

River Lee made navigable.

1426. The Citizens of Dublin have a grant of 20 l. from the government for their great services.

1427. Wolves not yet extirpated from Scotland.

1428. The old bridge of Dublin built.

The siege of Orleans.

* Lollards, a set which had imbibed the principles of Wickliffe, and opposed the Pope and the Mendicants of that church.

1430. Rise of the city of Glasgow.
1436. Coventry eminent for the woollen and cap manufacture.
1440. Printing first invented. Who the first inventors of this noble art were, or in what City it was first set on foot, is a famous problem long disputed among the learned: John Mantle of Strasbourg, John Guttemberg and John Fust, Faust or Faustus of Mentz, and Lawrence John Coster of Harlem, are the persons to whom this honour is severally ascribed; but it is generally allowed to be about this year, the first book that was printed was the *vulgate Bible*, and the second *Cicero de Officiis*.
1445. Leaden-hall first erected for a public granary.
1447. A great plague and famine in Ireland.
- It was enacted by the parliament held in Trim, that every man should shave his upper lip, or otherwise to be treated as an Irish enemy, another against unlawful coins, gilt-armour; the King to have 12d. per ounce on all Bullion exported.
1448. The Vatican Library at Rome founded.
1453. The Turks took Constantinople.
1455. A Swedish ship of a thousand tons comes to England.
- Some silk manufacture carried on by Women in England.
1458. A ruby of 214 carats brought into England.
- An English merchant-ship trades to the Levant sea.
1459. A mint erected in the castle of Dublin, where silver coin and brass money were coined.
1460. Allum mines first found in Italy; though they were known to the ancient Greeks and Romans.
- Engraving and etching invented in Italy; and, consequently, rolling-press printing.
1461. Deeds of Christ-Church, Dublin, inrolled by the Barons of the Exchequer, in order to establish them, as many had been defaced by part of the Church falling in.
1462. Groats, two-pences, pence, halfpence, and farthings, coined in Dublin. English money advanced a fourth of its value in Ireland.
- Regular posts established in France.
1463. An Act passed in Ireland for the security of Privilege to members of Parliament, forty days before and after the Session; to regulate attornies fees, and against clipt money.
1466. Another Plague visits Dublin and Meath.
1467. The Earl of Desmond beheaded at Drogheda, attainted of high-treason by the parliament held there, for corresponding with his Majesty's enemies.
- Desiderius Erasmus born at Rotterdam.

1470. So destitute was England of any naval power, that the Hanse-Confederacy compelled Edward IV. to make peace upon advantageous terms with them.

1471. Printing (known before in Germany) introduced into England by William Caxton, mercer, in Westminster-abbey. The first piece he published, it is said, was either Tully's Offices, or a treatise on the game of chess; see 1440.

1474. Copernicus, the famous astronomer, born.

1477. Another plague visits Dublin.

The streets of Canterbury, Southampton, Taunton, and Cirencester paved.

1480. It was enacted in Ireland, that not any Hawks should be exported without great custom.

1482. Amsterdam first surrounded with a brick-wall.

1483. Interest of money at ten per cent.

Jane Shore obliged to do penance in St. Paul's.

1485. Henry VII. institutes the Yeomen of the Guard.

The Portuguese discover the Cape of Good Hope.

Water-Conduits brought into several cities in England.

The manor of Swords added to the see of Dublin.

1487. The fall of Bruges, and the rise of Antwerp and Amsterdam; see 1419.

1488. Woollen cloth not to be exported until fully drest.

1489. The first Musquets or Fire-arms brought into Ireland from Germany, being six, and esteemed a great curiosity, and came as a present to the Earl of Kildare.

Scarlet dying very dear, till Cochineal was imported from Mexico, by the Spaniards.

Cochineal is now well known to be an insect called a Lady-bird, which draws its subsistence from a shrub having a reddish sap.

About this time were first brought into England, Geographical or Cosmographical Maps and Sea-charts.

1492. The Expulsion of the Moors from Spain gave rise to the piratical States of Barbary.

English first trades to Morocco.

Columbus discovers America for the Spaniards.

1494. Algebra first known in Europe.

Subsidies granted by the Parliament held in Drogheda in lieu of coyn and livery; see 1371.

Sir Edward Poyning arrives in Ireland, and calls a parliament at Drogheda, where he procured (among others) the two following bills to pass into laws; viz. That no parliament should be called in the kingdom without assigning a reason; and a bill to be transmitted for calling the same under the great seal of Ireland to the King and Council, with an approbation

tion of the said act, together with his majesty's leave under the great seal of England, to summons a parliament.

Also the memorable law, which to this day is called by his name, viz.

That the public Statutes of England, then lately ordained, be received also in Ireland; for before that in old times (1172. as Lawyers do observe) the English statutes were admitted in that kingdom.

The statutes of this parliament are in English, which before this period were in old French.

1496. The first English law for the relief of impotent Beggars.

1497. A great scarcity in Ireland, a peck of wheat being almost four English bushels, sold for ten shillings, and malt at eight.

Americus Vespucius made new discoveries in that part of the world called after him America, for the Portuguese.

1499. The parliament which sat at Castledermot passed an act against such nobles as should neglect to ride without saddles, and those who neglected to appear with their robes in parliament, when a subsidy was granted to the King.

SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

1500. The Portuguese make a second voyage to the East-Indies.

The first use of Hops in malt liquors is ascribed to this century.

Most part of the town of Galway burnt.

A great plague in England.

1501. Venice supplies Europe with East-Indian merchandise, till the Portuguese imported it by the Cape of Good Hope.

The fort of Sligo taken by Rory O'Connor.

1502. A murrain in Ireland.

1503. Laws made in Scotland to promote Industry and Commerce.

Sugar-baking first found out by a Venetian.

1504. The English taught to spin with the distaff by one Antonio Barrese, an Italian.

1505. The first Shilling coined in England.

Portugal monopolizes the cinnamon trade.

1506. Trim burnt by lightening.

1508. The French first sail up the river St. Lawrence.

Gold, cotton, sugar, ginger, imported from the West-Indies.

dies to Spain; and Negro-slaves exported from Africa to America.

1509. Very few stone or brick buildings in England.

No fallads, carrots, turnips, or cabbages but what were brought from the Netherlands.

1510. A great inundation in Ireland.

1511. The island of Cuba conquered, and the Havanna h settled by the Spaniards.

1512. The Mayor of Dublin obliged annually to go in procession bare-foot through the City, by way of penance, for quarrelling in Patrick's church, and discharging a volley of arrows, many of which took place in the images in the loft, and upper part of the building.

A ship of a thousand tons built at Woolwich.

King Henry VIII. first established a permanent navy-royal, a navy-office, royal docks, yards, wharfs, store-houses, &c.

Trinity-house-Corporations of London, Hull, and Newcastle erected, for regulating pilots, beacons, light-houses, buoys, &c.

The river of Plata in South America discovered.

Belfast castle demolished by the Earl of Kildare.

1513. An English consul first established in the isle of Scio, the ancient Chios.

1514. Stone cannon-bullets still in use.

1516. Madrid but an obscure village.

An English voyage along the coast of South America.

1517. The Newfoundland fishery commences.

The Reformation of Religion commences in many parts of Europe, and proved greatly beneficial to commerce.

In Germany, 1517, by Luther.

— Switzerland, 1519, — Zuingle.

— Denmark, 1521,

— France, 1529, — Calvin.

— Sweden, 1530, — Petri.

— Ireland, 1535, — George Brown.

— England, 1547, — Martin Bucar and Paul Fagius*.

— Scotland, 1560, — John Knox.

— United Provinces, 1566.

1518. A shameful riot at London, occasioned by English prejudice against foreigners.

* The Reformation in England began something earlier than this Reign. But Edward VI. in order to forward it, invited some learned men from abroad.

1519. The first voyage round the Globe, by Magellan, through the Streights of his name.

Spain loses her woollen manufacture, which she has not been able to regain to this day.

1520. The first exact geographical Map of England.

1521. Muskets first brought into use.

Spice-islands possessed by the Portuguese.

France first gains a silk manufacture.

Venice, Lyons, and Genoa, the richest cities in Europe.

King Henry VIII. writes a book against Luther, for which Pope Leo styles him, Defender of the Faith.

1522. An English Consul at Candia, ancient Crete.

A plague in the city of Limerick.

1523. The English are confessedly masters at sea.

Rhodes taken by the Turks from the Knights Hospitalers, who removed to the isle of Malta, where they now reside.

1524. A contention determined between the Abbot of Thomas-court, and the City of Dublin, about the Toll-bowl.

This measure is still in use at the Dublin Corn Market, which is paid as a custom, the produce of which is for the use of the Blue-coat Hospital, in Queen-street.

Soap first made at London, which had been made before at Bristol.

The Spaniards conquer the kingdom of Peru.

Turkeys, carps, hops, pickeril, and beer,
Came into England all in one year.

1525. A very hot Summer and wet Autumn, which was attended with the plague in Dublin.

1526. Bristol trades to the Canary-isles for sugar.

1527. Buda the capital of Hungary taken by the Turks.

1528. A pestilential sickness, called the *English sweat*, which first appeared in Ireland in 1491, raged with great violence.

1529. The first voyage from New Spain to the Molucca island.

1530. An English ship trades to Guinea and Brazil.

Cardinal Wolsey died, the twenty-ninth of November.

1531. A terrible Earthquake at Lisbon, overthrows fifteen hundred houses, and many churches.

The famous Exchange built at Antwerp.

1532. Henry VII. chapel in Westminster-abbey finished.

1533. Hemp and flax ordered by statute to be sown in England.

Currants first planted in England.

1534. Holbourn and Southwark first paved.

The Reformation so forward that all subjection to the Pope was thrown off.

A pestilence in Ireland.

1535. Brass cannon first made in England.

The Bible translated into English and printed.

1536. Wales united to England by act of parliament.

The English tongue, and their manner of dress enacted to be observed in Ireland.

1537. Halifax in Yorkshire commences the woollen manufacture.

1538. The Bible first read in Churches.

1539. Six hundred and forty three monasteries, ninety colleges, two thousand three hundred and seventy-four chantries and free chapels, and one hundred and ten hospitals, suppressed in England and Wales.

A great Drought in Ireland.

1540. The order of the Jesuits founded by Ignatius Loyola, whose principles are to support the papal supremacy, and the dependance of the church on him, and by every method to accomplish their ends, and for the purpose to assume any character.

1541. The Priory and Convent of Christ-Church in Dublin, converted into a Deanry and Chapter.

Ireland raised to the dignity of a Kingdom, when K. Henry was proclaimed King of Ireland (of which before he was only stiled lord, but with kingly power) in St. Patrick's, near Dublin, in London the 23d of January, and confirmed by Pope Paul in June 1555.

1543. First English statute concerning Bankrupts.

Pins made in England; before which the Ladies used skewers.

1544. Cheshire and Chester first represented in parliament.

The town of Cambridge first paved.

1545. The mines of Potosi discovered, and improved by the discovery of Quick-silver.

The first French ship of war carrying 100 brass cannon, yet not near so large as those of modern times.

The Council of Trent opened, December 13.

1546. All laws against usury repealed, and interest of money fixed at ten per cent.

1547. Iron cannon first made in England.

Silk

Silk Stockings first worn by the French King.

The suppression of image worship.

1548. The Bailiffs of Dublin appointed to the dignity of Sheriffs.

1549. King Edward VI. encourages foreign Protestants to settle in England, viz. Walloons, Germans, French, Italians, Polanders, and Switzers; who much advanced manufactures and trade.

A congregation of Protestant Spaniards in London.

Improvements of land made by inclosures, which occasioned Ket's rebellion.

1550. Iron bullets first used.

The Portuguese first trade to Japan.

The Liturgy was first read in English in Christ Church, on Easter Sunday in this year, and afterwards printed by especial license, by one Humphrey Powell.

1551. The Primacy of Armagh added to the see of Dublin, on account of that bishop's appearing early in the Reformation, while the others continued to oppose it, but Armagh assumed its supremacy in 1554, when George Dowdell was restored by Q. Mary.

1552. So great was the scarcity in Ireland, that a measure of Wheat containing almost four English bushels sold in Dublin for 24s. malt 18s. but at the coming in of harvest fell to 5s.

The groat piece, by proclamation was directed to pass at two shillings.

Hops and Saffron planted in England.

No taverns but in cities and towns, and those limited to a certain number.

The Paris Massacre of the Protestants on St. Bartholomew's day.

The States of Holland united.

1553. Spain pays a thousand pounds annually, for leave to fish on the Irish coast.

First English attempt for a North-East passage to China.

The Whale-fishery discovered.

Mary crowned Queen, October 1.

She restores the Popish Bishops, and countenances the mass.

The English attempt a passage to the East Indies by the frozen sea, under the command of Sir Hugh Willoughby, who died in Lapland by the inclemency of the Weather.

1554. The Russia company first incorporated.

The Queen orders mass to be celebrated in Dublin.

The

The protestant bishop of Meath expelled.

John Rogers, the first martyr, was burnt in London; and bishop Hooper at Gloucester. Bishop Ridley, and Latimer suffered the same inhuman deaths.

1555. First general law obliging every parish to mend their own roads.

Coaches first used in England.

St. Patrick's Cathedral restored to its former dignity, of which it had been deprived by Henry VIII.

1556. Archbishop Cranmer was burnt at Oxford and succeeded by cardinal Pole.

Wheat sold in England at 2l. 3s. the barrel.

1557. Glass first made in England.

1558. Calais, which had been in the hands of the English for near two hundred years, surrenders to France.

Copper money coined in Ireland to support the war there.

1559. The Litany and other Prayers made use of in the churches of Ireland. When the images were removed, and the walls of the churches ornamented with Texts of Scripture. When large bibles were placed in the middle of the choir of St. Patrick's and Christ Church, where the people resorted to read them.

1560. Amsterdam next to Antwerp in commerce.

First Insurance on merchandize at sea.

Public clocks were set up in the castle and St. Patrick's, Dublin, being the first.

1561. Queen Elizabeth wears the first pair of knit silk stockings.

A Copper mine, and Lapis Calaminaris, found in Cumber-land.

A license granted for exporting grain, which encourages husbandry.

The Play of the *nine Worthies* acted for the entertainment of the Lord Lieutenant, at a feast given by the Mayor of Dublin.

St. Paul's steeple burnt by lightning.

A Convocation to establish the 39 Articles of Religion.

1562. The roof and part of the body of Christ Church fell, by which the ancient monument of Strongbow was broke.

1563. The Russia company sends Agents to the court of Persia.

The first compulsory law for the relief of the poor.

A law to promote Shipping, and encourage mariners. Ireland divided into counties.

Earthen fire pots, furnaces, and portable ovens introduced into England by their countryman Richard Dyer.

Pins

Pins first made in England, of which to the value of 9000*l.* a year were imported.

1564. Shakespeare, the dramatic English Poet, born.

The first coach made in England for the Earl of Rutland by Walter Rippon.

1565. Two new projects in England for making Brimstone and Oil.

Wire-drawing by a mill, first introduced into England.

The fort and town of Derry, in Ireland, burnt.

1566. Wales and Shrewsbury have a considerable woollen manufacture.

Spanish needles made in England by Elias Crouse, a German; they were made in the former reign by a negro in Cheapside, but he refused to communicate his art.

Seven thousand small Bibles, being the first imported, were disposed of this year in Dublin.

1567. Persecution in the Netherlands drives people into England, who introduce the manufacture of bayes, sayes, &c.

The old Royal Exchange built in London.

The Earls of Ormond and Desmond at open war in Ireland.

The rebellion of Shane O'Neill in Ireland, when O'Neill was betrayed and slain.

1568. Persecution of the Protestants in France, drives many of them to England, where they established variety of manufactures.

Shane O'Neill's rebellion in Ireland, cost England 237,407*l.* 3*s.* 9*d.* over and above the cess on the country, with the loss of three thousand five hundred soldiers.

Strongbow's monument repaired, which was broke by the fall of the roof of Christ-Church. The statue of his son was separated at the hips, which occasioned it to be said, that his father had cut him in two with his sword. History mentions that he run him through, for imprudently engaging the enemy in his absence.

The first knife made in England was by Thomas Matthews on Fleet-bridge:

1569. The art of Italian account, or Book-keeping by double entry, first published in England.

1570. The Dutch lay the foundation of their commonwealth.

1571. Felt-hats made in England.

The Irish characters for printing were first brought into Ireland

Ireland by Nicholas Walshe, chancellor of St. Patrick's, Dublin.

1573. Keeping possession of Ireland very expensive to England.

1575. A great plague broke out in Dublin on the 7th of June, which continuing until the 17th of October, is said to have carried off 3000 persons.

1576. The Earl of Clanrickard taken prisoner and sent to the castle of Dublin.

1577. Watches first brought into England from Germany. Three hundred people died at the affizes of Oxford, by the stench of the prisoners.

Sir Francis Drake began his first voyage round the world, and returned in 1580.

Rory Oge O'moore burnt Naas, Catherlough, Leighlin Bridge, Rathcool, Ballymore, and many other towns in Leinster.

1578. The use of Whale-bone not yet known, but the oil only.

First treaty between England and the States-General of the Netherlands.

A great Snow.

1579. Union of the Seven Provinces of the Netherlands. Second voyage round the world by Drake.

The arch rebel James Fitz-Morris lands in Kerry, Ireland, with Allen and Sanders.

The mayor of Youghal hanged by the rebels.

Rebels defeated by the earl of Ormond.

The records in Bermingham Tower in Dublin, adjusted, and a person appointed for the care of them.

1580. Norwich becomes more populous by the persecuted protestants of the Netherlands settling in it.

A controversy by combat, determined in the castle of Dublin.

James Usher born in Dublin, afterwards bishop of Armagh.

Virginia first peopled by the English.

1581. Turkey Company erected.

Bristol made a city by charter.

A chief postmaster appointed, Mr. Thomas Randolph.

1582. Queen Elizabeth corresponds with the Grand Seignior, in order to establish a commerce with his dominions.

The Artichoak, the Musk-rose, the Apricot, several sorts of Plumbs, divers kinds of Flowers, particularly Tulips,
first

first planted about this time in England ; but no Peaches or Nectarines.

Computation of the New Stile introduced by Pope Gregory XIII.

English consuls first introduced in Turkey.

Revenue of France 3,200,000l.

Value of the woollen cloth exported from England, 200,000l. annually.

The earl of Desmond slain.

1583. Capt. Carlelle proposes a settlement in North America.

Pippins first planted in Lancashire.

First charter for discovering the North-West Passage, granted to Adrian Gilbert.

An engine for cutting of clock-wheels invented.

A hollow turning coach and a rare chariot made for the Queen ; about this time the long waggon came into use.

1584. Body guards appointed in Scotland to attend their King.

1585. Fishery of Newfoundland claimed by the English.

Algerine Pirates first put to sea.

Capt. Davis first attempts the discovery of the North-West passage, his second in 1587, and third in 1589.

Tobacco first brought into England by Sir Walter Raleigh.

1586. Ludgate in London rebuilt.

Tycho Brahe improves astronomy.

Second voyage by the English round the globe, by Capt. Cavendish.

Sir Philip Sidney killed in the Dutch wars, Oct. 16.

1587. Interest of money at 10l. per cent. in Scotland.

Wheat 3l. 4s. the quarter at London, while at other places it was at 10s. and 13s. the bushel.

Duelling with the small sword first introduced into England.

Copperas first made in England by Cornelius de Vos, a merchant.

Cælestial and Terrestrial Globes brought to considerable perfection by William Saunders.

1588. The Spanish armada sent to invade England.

Force of the Armada ships of all kinds, — 130

Soldiers, — — — 19,230

Sailors, — — — 8350

Cannon, — — — 2360

The Spanish armada defeated by Drake, July 21.

Chatham

Chatham chest for the relief of sailors established.

A fire-ship first invented and used by the English.

1589. The Stocking frame invented by — Lee, A. M. of St. John's college, Cambridge.

Tyrone enters into a conspiracy with the Spaniards.

1590. Telescopes first invented at Middleburgh, in Zealand, by the children of one Jausen, who in play set some glasses at a distance from each other in their fingers, which they held up against the church steeple, on which they observed the weather cock to appear much larger, and to come very near them. Of this they acquainted their father, a spectacle-maker, who soon improved the hint and made it public. The Microscope was not discovered until 1621.

The edict of Nantz granted to the protestants, whereby they were suffered to enjoy the free exercise of their religion, by Henry IV. (who was afterwards assassinated by Ravillac) but revoked by Lewis XIV. see 1685.

Manufacture of sail cloth first introduced into England.

The English customs farmed to Sir Thomas Smith at 50,000l. who for a long time held them at 14,000l.

Fine sugar produced at Madeira.

Newcastle coal sold at London for 4s. the chaldron.

Tea and porcelane of China first mentioned.

The city of Dublin granted the Monastery of All-hallows for the foundation of an University, when they were attended upon the occasion by Adam Loftus, the Archbishop of Dublin, the Lord Chancellor, and the Clergy at the Tholsel, and a Speech made expressive of the pleasure it would give the Queen.

1591. The first patent granting for printing of books, which was to Richard Wright of Oxford, who had undertaken a translation of Tacitus.

The English make their first voyage to India.

The university of Trinity college began to be built on the dissolved monastery of All-hallows, near Dublin, granted by the Mayor and Citizens of Dublin, which was ready for the reception of Students in two years; the first stone was laid by Thomas Smith, mayor of the city, attended with the regalia, March 13.

1592. Fitzsimons, a priest, son to an alderman of Dublin, executed for being in Balinglass's rebellion.

The Thames of London almost dry.

March 30. The date of Queen Elizabeth's charter granted to the university of Dublin, when Sir William Cecil, Lord Baron Burleigh, Lord Treasurer of England, was appointed

ed Chancellor; Adam Loftus, Archbishop of Dublin, Provost; Lucas Challoner, William Daniel, James Fullerton, and James Hamilton, Fellows; Abel Walth, James Usher, and James Lee, were admitted Scholars.

1593. The English mile directed to be 1760 yards.

Weekly bills of mortality first introduced.

Above eighteen thousand people are carried off by the plague in London.

1594. Whale-bone first discovered.

1595. The Hollanders first voyage to the East Indies.

Memorable sacking of Cadiz by the English.

1596. Price of wheat the quarter 2l. 13s. 4d.

1597. Logwood by law forbid to be used in dying, but afterwards discovered to be of great use.

Proportion of money between England and Scotland 10 to 1.

The largest ship in England 800 tons.

Wheat at 13s. 4d. the bushel.

1598. The Hollanders make their first voyage round the world.

The English undertake the Whale Fishery.

Edmund Spenser, the Poet, died.

1599. The Dutch build 2000 ships a year.

Oliver Cromwell born April 25.

1600. An English envoy sent to the East Indies, previous to the company's charter, which was for 15 years.

The first charter granted to the East India company, and their first subscription 50l.

Character of the SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

This century may be truly said, from its very commencement, nearly to approach to a resemblance of modern times, whether considered in a commercial or a polite light, either in respect of riches, knowledge, or religion. In general, it will be seen that, towards the close of it, commerce is gradually advanced to almost its very zenith of perfection. Navigation, arts mathematical, manufactures, agriculture, architecture, and plantations are almost miraculously improved. Towards the close of this century, every part of Christendom is endeavouring to push into commerce and manufacture, whilst at the same time, England's commerce and shipping continue to prosper and increase.

1601. The first voyage for the India company was made by captain James Lancaster, with four ships, whose outfit and cargo amounted to 72,000l.

Insurance of ships first began.

Silver of an inferior alloy coined for Ireland.

The French send two ships from St. Maloes to the East-Indies.

The Spaniards land at Kinsale with 4000 men.

1602. The French first sail up the river St. Lawrence.

Fishing in the sea common to all.

The largest ship in the royal navy, at the death of Queen Elizabeth, was of 1000 tons, 340 mariners, and 40 cannon; the smallest 600 tons, 150 mariners, and 30 cannon.

1603. Ireland entirely reduced to the obedience of England.

Iran ordnance cast in England only.

Canada first settled by the French.

Hollanders trade to England with 600 ships, but the English trade to Holland with no more than 50.

Holland builds 1000 ships a year, though their national commodities would not employ more than 100.

Queen Elizabeth died March 24.

1604. East India merchants make their second voyage.

A great plague in Dublin, which appeared the succeeding year, and carried off numbers.

Oath of allegiance first administered.

The rebellion in Ireland entirely quelled.

First sheriff for the county of Tyrone appointed, June 1.

Sir Walter Raleigh condemned, November 17.

The first knit Stockings made in England, in imitation of a pair brought from Mantua, which were presented to the Earl of Pembroke.

1605. St. Giles's in London first paved.

Coaches in general use.

The custom of Tanistry and Gavelkind were abolished by judgment in the King's Bench.

The intended massacre of the three Estates of England by gunpowder, discovered the 5th of November.

1606. An English minister resides in Turkey.

Henry Garnet, the Jesuit, on a confession of being concerned in the gunpowder plot, was executed near St. Paul's, March 28.

Christianus king of Denmark came into England.

Sixty one thousand five hundred and ninety-six persons carried off by the plague in this and the preceding year.

1607.

1607. Great insurrections in England, on account of inclosures.

Due to England by Holland 818,408l.

A conspiracy against the Lord Deputy and Council of Ireland, with an intent to dissolve the State, discovered by a Catholic, who had too much virtue to suffer it to take place.

A Translation of the Bible made, which is in use at this day.

1608. Allum first made in England, and monopolized by the King.

Sir Cahir O'Dougharty burnt Derry.

Virginia first planted by the English.

Milton, the English Poet, born December 9.

1609. The mulberry-tree first planted in England.

The Dutch pay a tribute for fishing on the coast.

The King's lands in Ulster (Ireland) granted to London, when they raised 20,000l. for the peopling and settling the country.

The new river brought to London by Sir Hugh Middleton.

The dignity of a Baronet introduced, and sold in tale for 1000l.

The banks of Stockholm, Hamburg and Rotterdam, set up.

Legal copper half-pence and farthings, proposed by Sir Rob. Cotton, in the place of leaden tokens.

Silk-worms brought into England.

Joseph Scaliger died.

The Charters of Dublin, Waterford, Cork, Galway, Wexford, Kinsale, Youghall, and Knockfergus renewed.

1610. Henry IV. of France, stabbed by Ravillac.

Chelsea College built.

1611. First voyage of the English on the whale fishery.

The Hollanders first settle at Japan.

The Moors and Jews expelled from Spain.

Pay of the land forces, viz.

Commander in chief, per day,	—	—	—	—	£ 5 0 0
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Colonel,	—	—	—	—	1 0 0
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Lieut. Colonel,	—	—	—	—	0 6 0
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Four thousand soldiers, with a Capt. to each } company,	—	—	—	—	156 0 0
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The Order of Baronets instituted in Ireland.

1612. King James I. divides Ireland into counties; appoints circuits, by which the natives, as well as the English, enjoy the benefit and protection of the law; so that
now

now the Irish began to cut off their * glibs and long hair, to convert their mantles into cloaks, and to conform to the English customs.

The first voyage of the united Merchants trading to the East Indies under a joint stock, before their trade was carried on by several distinct funds.

The Irish Society for planting of Ulster erected in London.

The Summer Islands first planted.

1613. First voyage to Japan by the India company.

Ballance in favour of the trade of England, 346,283*l.* 17*s.* 10*d.* Profit made by the Dutch East India Company, those who put in 4000 guilders in 1602, had divided to them at this time by different payments 10,400, with their capital in trade.

The Parliament of Ireland called, which had not been for twenty years; the Papists refuse to attend the House, upon a difference between them and the Protestants, about the choice of a Speaker.

1614. A convocation held in Dublin, which established the articles of religion.

Dying cloth in the wool first invented.

Barbadoes planted.

Logarithms invented.

1615. The coals of Newcastle employ 400 ships, of which 200 sail to London.

The Irish parliament dissolved.

1616. The passage to the South Sea by Cape-Horn, discovered by the Dutch.

Shakespeare died, aged 53, at Stratford upon Avon.

1617. The Popish regular clergy banished Ireland by proclamation, as they were again in 1623.

1618. Batavia first fortified by the Dutch.

The African company erected.

Sir Walter Raleigh beheaded October 29.

1619. Tapestry-work first introduced into England.

Proclamation directing houses to be built with brick walls.

1620. Broad silk first manufactured.

Games and gaming-houses, licensed in London.

The famous Doctor Usher made Bishop of Meath.

1621. Nova Scotia granted to king James.

1622. The woollen manufacture in a declining state.

Massacre of the English by the Dutch at Amboyna.

* *A thick curled bush of hair, hanging down over the eyes.*
Most

Most part of the city of Cork consumed by fire.

1624. A general law against all monopolies.

Interest of money reduced to 8l. per cent. before this reduction lands sold at 12 years purchase.

The word interest used in the place of usury.

The Dutch make woollen cloth to the amount of 25,000l. a year.

Dr. Usher raised to the Primacy of Armagh.

1625. Hackney coaches first used.

Nova Scotia Baronets first instituted.

The crown of England pawned with the Dutch for 300,000l.

1626. The wages of the seamen of the royal navy, raised from 14s. per month, to 20s.

Lord Dunboyne tried by his peers for killing a man in the county of Tipperary.

Sir Francis Bacon Viscount Verulam, died April 9.

The King raises money by the sale of crown lands.

Military Establishment in Ireland 5000 Foot and 500 Horse at 64,240l.

1627. A second Examiner first added to the court of Chancery in Ireland.

An additional duty on the exports of Ireland.

England declares war against France.

Precedency given to the second Serjeant above the Attorney and Solicitor General.

John Felton hanged in chains for stabbing the Duke of Buckingham, November 19.

1629. The crown of England redeemed from the Dutch by iron ordnance.

Adam Loftus, viscount Ely, lord chancellor, and Rich, earl of Cork, lord high treasurer, sworn Lords Justices of Ireland, each allowed 100l. per month.

1630. Fifteen of the religious houses were seized for the king's use in Ireland, by an order from England.

St. Patrick's Purgatory, a small island in the county of Down, defaced by order of government, in order to prevent the scandalous resort of people, under pretence of making atonement for their sins.

1631. Milled money first coined.

New Africa company erected.

John Dryden, the Poet, born.

1632. A popish college erected in Back-lane, Dublin, (in opposition to Trinity college, Dublin) was shut up, and disposed of to the university of Dublin, who placed a rector

and scholars there, and held weekly lectures; but was taken from them by Lord Strafford, who restoring it, was afterwards converted into a mass-house.

Part of London bridge burnt down.

1633. Interest of money in Scotland at 8l. per cent.

Saw mills erected in England, but suppressed in consideration of their depriving numbers of people of employment.

Peace made with France.

Lacquer varnish first used.

1634. Sedan chairs first in use.

A parliament called in Ireland, who grant six subsidies, amounting to 240,000l.

The convocation compiled a new book of canons.

The Irish parliament send over two persons (containing their grievances) to England, one to the King, the other to the parliament.

An impeachment from the Commons of Ireland was brought to the house of Lords against Sir Richard Bolton, lord chancellor, the lord bishop of Derry, &c. for introducing arbitrary government, and giving unjust decrees.

- Precedency given by the king to the archbishop of Armagh in preference to the archbishop of Dublin.

1635. The bank at Amsterdam erected.

A regular post erected from London to Scotland and Ireland, once a week.

Ship money first imposed.

The Royal Sovereign of 96 guns and 1740 tons built.

The Dutch pay 30,000l. for liberty to fish on the coasts of England.

The parliament of Ireland dissolved.

Thomas Parr died, aged 152, November 15. He lived in the reigns of 9 Kings and Queens in England.

1636. The King builds a Man of War called the Royal Sovereign, then the largest in the world.

1637. Stamp office for cards and dice erected.

- 1638. Coinage of the mint of England from March 1619, to March 1638, 6,900,042l. 11s. 1d. in gold and silver.

1639. A surveyor of wrestling within three miles of London appointed; in such esteem was that exercise.

The Scots enter into covenant against the Act of Uniformity, the Liturgy, &c.

The revenue of Ireland amounted to 80,000l. a year.

The office of the Rolls of Ireland built.

1640. The Portuguese shake off the Spanish yoke.

Bows and arrows, and stone cannon shot in use.

A com-

A committee of the house of Commons of Ireland, went over to England to impeach the Earl of Strafford.

The Earl of Strafford beheaded, May 12.

The long parliament meet, November 5.

1641. Ireland spins linen yarn for Manchester, who returns it to them made into cloth.

The customs of England amount to 500,000*l*.

The great massacre of the Protestants of Ireland, when 154,000 were cut off with great cruelty by the Papists on the 23d of October, the day dedicated to St. Ignatius. So well was the design concerted, that the knowledge of it did not reach the government in Dublin until the evening before. Sir William Parsons and Sir John Borlase, Master of the Ordnance, were then the Lords Justices, and acted with great pusillanimity.

Sir Phelemy O'Neill, having taken Dundalk, marches with 4000 men to Liffnegarvy.

Lord Maguire with others form a scheme to surprise the castle of Dublin, on the 23d of Oct. but prevented by the discovery of one Owen O'Conolly.

Great numbers of the persecuted protestants fly from the country to Dublin for protection, when the magistracy was called upon to raise a fund for their support, which amounted to no more than 40 or 50*l*. so prevalent was the Popish party in the city.

The reduced Protestants to the number of a thousand formed into a regiment, commanded by Sir Charles Coote (who was afterwards killed at Trim) as were two regiments more placed under the command of Lord Lambert and Col. Crawford, when the castle of Dublin was put into a posture of defence.

Drogheda besieged by 14,000 rebels.

The King by proclamation, declares the Irish to be rebels, January 1.

The parliament of England voted a supply of 50,000*l*. for the relief of Ireland, November 16, with a pardon to the rebels, which was proclaimed in Dublin.

The Algerines have 65 ships of war, besides gallies, but have since much declined.

Death of cardinal Richlieu, the founder of the French commerce, who at his death left them in possession of 100 ships of war, and doubled their revenue.

1642. Two millions and a half of acres of land forfeited in Ireland by the rebellion, disposed of by the King.

By an order from the government plate to the amount of 1200l. was brought into the Mint at Dublin.

The Irish parliament sat the 21st of July.

The officers of the army in Ireland raise a subscription amongst themselves for its support, and take debentures on the forfeited lands for their pay.

The poverty of Dublin so great as not to be able to raise 10,000l. half money and half provisions for the army.

James, marquis of Ormond, sworn Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

Sir Isaac Newton born December 25.

The castle of Limerick surrendered to the Irish.

1643. Bow dye, or scarlet colour first made.

The Lords and Commons (without the consent of the King) direct the public to pay weekly 34,108l. 10s. which amounts to 1,773,649l. 16s. a year.

Duty on beer and ale, imposed by the name of excise.

London pays 10,000l. a week.

The Papists of Ireland received a Bull of Indulgence from the Pope, May 25.

An Engine for cutting down the Wheels of Watches first invented.

Galway surrendered to the Irish, August 6.

King Charles I. demands a cessation of arms with the Irish, September 7.

1644. An excise laid by proclamation on all goods consumed in Dublin, with other taxes, and three pence on all lands inhabited by the English.

The number of inhabitants in the city of Dublin stood, of Protestants, Men 2565, women 2986; Papists, 1202 men, and 1406 women.

1646. Peace proclaimed between the King and the Irish rebels.

The Irish parliament make an address of gratitude to the marquis of Ormond for his conduct.

The French begin their manufacture of fine woollen cloth, under the patronage of Cardinal Mazarine at Sedan.

Peace concluded with the Irish Roman Catholics.

Court of wards suppressed.

The plantation commodities to be brought home in British bottoms only; this gave rise to the navigation act, the commercial palladium of Britain.

Value of wheat the quarter, 2l. 8s.

1647. The East India company almost supplanted by the Dutch.

The Lords and Commons raised upwards of 40 millions for the war against the King, between the years 1641 and 1647, being about 6,666,666l. 13s. 4d. a year.

The use of the Common Prayer prohibited by proclamation, June 20.

The battle of Dungan-Hill, when 6000 Irish were killed, and the English, under the command of Gov. Jones, lost but 20 men.

1649. Stadt-house at Amsterdam, the foundation laid.

Corporation for propagating the gospel in foreign parts instituted.

The marquis of Ormond defeated in his attempt on Dublin by colonel Jones, who surprised him at Rathmines, and killed 4000 men, and made 2517 prisoners.

Oliver Cromwell, Lord Lieutenant and Commander in Chief under the parliament, arrives in Dublin with 9000 foot, and 4000 horse, with a fleet to attend him, where having settled all affairs, he marched with 10,000 men to besiege Drogheda, which he took by storm after being twice repulsed, September 9.

He took Dundalk, September 16.

And Wexford, October 4.

Charles II. proclaimed at Youghall in Ireland, March 19.

1650. The Hollanders commerce arrives at its meridian altitude.

The worsted manufacturers of Norwich incorporated.

This summer the plague (which began the year before) raged most violently in Dublin.

The Sect called Quakers first appear under George Fox.

The Lord Lieutenant Ormond and his adherents, excommunicated by the Popish Clergy of Ireland, at their Assembly in James's Town.

1651. The battle of Knocknaclashy where the Irish were defeated by the parliament's forces.

Cape of Good Hope settled by the Dutch.

The island of St. Helena taken possession of by the English East India company.

Death of Inigo Jones, the great architect.

The memorable navigation act, occasioned by the insolence of the Dutch, which afterwards occasioned a fierce naval war, between now, two very considerable Republics.

King Charles II. crowned in Scotland, January 1.

He enters England with the Scots Army, August 6.

1652. A coffee-house first opened in London.

Two hundred, the number of hackney-coaches in London.

The

The revenue of the post office farmed for 10,000*l.* a year.

The parliament raise 120,000*l.* per month.

Phelim O-Neil convicted before a high court of justice erected in Dublin, for the trial of such as were accused of the barbarous murders committed in the rebellion.

Was held at Kilkenny the first High Court of Justice for the trial of those accused of the rebellion.

Lord Mayo was tried in Connaught and shot.

Galway surrendered, which was the last town of importance in Ireland, May 12.

1653. Cromwell enters the House of Commons with a File of Musqueteers, and commands the Speaker to leave the Chair, April 20.

Oliver Cromwell sworn Protector, December 16.

1654. Peace made between the two Republics, at the supplication of Holland, who in the two years war lost 700 merchant ships, besides many of their navy; respect to the English flag stipulated by an article in the treaty.

The navy expences of England of this year, 1,048,737*l.* 13*s.* 8*d.*

The Newcastle colliery employs 900 sail of ships.

Hackney coaches, now 300, put under regulation of commissioners.

Vassalage abolished in Scotland; this was not confirmed at the restoration.

The fine broad cloth of England sent to Holland to be dyed.

1655. The island of Jamaica taken by the English from the Spaniards.

Board of trade appointed.

The Jews admitted into England, after an expulsion of 365 years.

The Stadt-house at Amsterdam finished.

Bishop Usher died, March 31.

1656. The new general post-office for England, Scotland, and Ireland established; single letters within 80 miles at 2*d.* at a greater distance 3*d.* these were further confirmed at the restoration.

Clare market built.

Wheat 2*l.* 3*s.* the quarter.

The national charge of this year, and collected without a land-tax:

For the navy,	1,000,000 <i>l.</i>
Civil Government,	300,000 <i>l.</i>

The

The Thames ebbd and flowed twice in 3 hours, Oct. 3.

1657. English coinage for nineteen years in gold and silver, 7,733,521l. 13s. 4d.

The India trade laid open for four years.

Revenue of Ireland for two years ending 1st Nov. 1637,

137,558l. 13s. 3d.

Expended, 142,509l. 11s. 0d.

1658. Spring Watches invented.

Upon the death of Oliver Cromwell, Henry Cromwell was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

The castle of Dublin surprised by a number of general officers inclined to King Charles the II'd's restoration.

A Pamphlet published, intitled, *Killing no Murder*, March 17. Wrote by Colonel Titus alias Allen.

1659. Sugar refined in England.

Twelve millions the current cash of England.

The Parliament which sat 19 years and 4 months dissolved.

1660. Legal interest in England, at 6l. per cent.

Ireland and Scotland, 10 and 12l.

France, 7l.

Italy, 3l.

First legal navigation act.

Islands of Jersey and Guernsey planted.

Asparagus, artichokes, colliflowers, lemons and oranges first brought into England.

General Post-office legally established, when the revenue amounted to 20,500l. Franking of Letters coeval with its establishment.

Value of wheat the quarter 2l. 16s. 6d.

King Charles II. sends a declaration to Ireland from Breda, which was accepted of, and they concur in his Restoration.

Royal Society erected in London.

The city of Dublin complimented with a collar of S. S. and bestowed a company of foot for the attendance of its Mayor.

Eleven Bishops consecrated together at St. Patrick's church, Dublin.

King Charles II. proclaimed in London, May 8.

1661. The Irish Parliament summoned, May 9.

The Duke of Ormond appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, October 4.

The Duke of Ormond receives a grant of 30,000l. from the parliament of Ireland.

Four hundred hackney coaches licensed.

Logwood

Logwood allowed by law to be used for dying.

1662. Sale of Dunkirk to the French by King Charles II.

1663. The first wire-mill erected at Sheen in England by the Dutch.

Turnpike-gates erected.

A penalty inflicted on importing fattened cattle from Ireland or Scotland.

Forty thousand men, women and children employed in silk-throwing in and near London.

Post-office revenue lett at 21,000l. a year.

The Court of Claims held at the King's Inns, began February 13.

1664. Balance against England on exports and imports, 1,993,207l.

Colbert, the French minister, encourages the running of wool, from England and Ireland.

The Dutch expelled from New York and New Jersey.

War with the Dutch.

Poleroon, a spice island, taken from the English by the Dutch.

Twynn, the Printer, executed for printing seditious Libels, February 24.

1665. The chief magistrate of Dublin honoured with the title of Lord Mayor, being the first raised to that dignity, with a grant of 500l. a year for ever to support it.

Sir Daniel Bellingham first Lord Mayor.

Protestant Militia raised in Ireland, September 16.

1666. Burying in woollen established by law.

Great fire in London on the 2d of September, when 13,200 houses were burnt.

Wheat at 11. 16s. the quarter.

The Popish clergy meet in a national synod in Dublin.

The second court of claims sat at Dublin, disposing of lands by lot to the officers of 49.

The Lord Lieutenant and Council of Ireland consider of sending 105,000 bullocks for the relief of London, lately burnt.

The Irish Parliament dissolved, August 7.

1667. Dying and dressing of woollen cloth, perfected in England, by one Brewer from the Netherlands.

Peace of Breda.

The Militia arrayed, those of Leinster encamped on the Curragh of Kildare, those of Dublin in the City, being on account of an expected invasion from France.

Abraham Cowley, the Poet, died, July 28.

The

The Royal Exchange began to be built.

Dr. Jonathan Swift, Dean of St. Patrick's Dublin, born in Hoey's Alley, now Hoey's Court, in Werburgh's Street, November 30, being St. Andrew's Day.

The great Tory Colonel Costilo killed.

1668. Balance of trade against England, 2,132,864l. 18s.

The Scots send linen yarn to England.

Bridge Town in Barbadoes burnt, April 18.

The Spire of St. Audoen's Steeple blown down by a storm.

1670. The wear of muslins first introduced.

The plantation commodities, prevented from being landed any where) but in England.

The polished glass manufacture brought into England by the duke of Buckingham, from Venice.

Wheat at 2l. 1s. 8d. the quarter.

The Linen manufacture began to be encouraged in Ireland, where it is very considerable.

Sir Wm. Davis, Recorder of Dublin, and seven of the Aldermen displaced, in order to make room for the Designs of the Papists.

A remarkable high Tide in the River Liffey, Dublin, from a violent S. E. wind, so that the water came near the College wall.

St. Stephen's Green, near Dublin, first ornamented by a plantation of Trees, and the Walks laid out.

Foundation Stone of St. Andrew's Church in Dublin laid.

The Spire of St. Audoen's Church in Dublin rebuilt.

An Exchange built in the Garden of Cork-House, for the use of the Merchants of Dublin.

Bells first erected in Christ Church, St. Patrick's, and St. Catherine's, Dublin.

The Blue-Coat-Hospital erected for the maintenance and education of the children of reduced citizens of Dublin.

The Wooden-bridge over the Liffey, commonly called Bloody-Bridge, was built.

1671. An attempt to carry off the Crown from the Tower by one Blood, May 9.

The Apprentices of Dublin assemble with an intent to break down the Wooden-bridge, twenty of whom were seized and committed to the Castle; but afterwards, as a guard of soldiers was conducting them to Bridewell, they were rescued, and in the fray four of them were killed: From this accident the bridge took the name of Bloody-

bridge. The occasion of this riot was on account of a Ferry belonging to the city, which the building of this bridge effected. Walter Harris, Esq; relates in the Life of King William, that the riot was quelled by the chief magistrate, but that the government made use of this opportunity of shewing a resentment to the city.

About two in the morning of the 20th of May, a Fire happened in the Store-house of the castle of Dublin, which consumed many pikes, matches and armour to the amount of some thousands of pounds, but providentially the gunpowder was moved to Crumlin.

1672. The whale fishery again attempted by the English. Interest of money reduced from 8 to 6l. in Scotland.

King Charles II. published his Indulgence to tender Consciences, March 15.

Tobago, in the West-Indies, taken from the Dutch, December 20.

De-Wit, who had been 18 years pensioner of Holland, killed with his brother in a tumult at the Hague, August 20.

Wm. Congreve, Esq; born in Ireland, March 20.

Joseph Addison, Esq; born, May 1.

New Rules for the government of the city of Dublin introduced.

1673. An engine for drawing of pinion wire of Steel for Watches.

Chains for Watches first made by one Tomakee.

The Test Act receives the royal assent, March 29.

1674. The Dutch absolutely agree to honour the English flag.

Imports from France to England, — 1,500,000

Exports, — — — 170,000

John Milton, Esq; the Poet, died, November 15.

1675. Wheat 3l. 4s. 8d. the quarter.

Coffee-houses suppressed on account of the liberty taken with the politics of the times.

Calico-printing, and the Dutch loom-engine first used in England.

St. Paul's in London began to be rebuilt, June 21.

Three hundred houses destroyed at Barbadoes by a hurricane, when two hundred people perished; see 1668.

1676. Value of the fishery and oil of Newfoundland, 386,400l. which employed 102 ships of 20 guns each, and 9180 men.

The

The capital of the East India company doubled, which amounted to 739,782l. 10s. and each share to be 100l.

Effex Bridge began to be built in Dublin by Sir Humphry Jervis, Knt. rebuilt in 1753.

1677. Value of the East India stock in 1665 was 130l. though selling at the time for 70 per cent. which in some time after sold for 245l.

Not any trade with China.

Lady Mary of England, daughter to James duke of York, married to William Prince of Orange, her fortune 40,000l.

1678. French merchandize prohibited.

1679. Habeas Corpus Act passed by King Charles II. May 27.

1680. India stock sold publicly in England.

The Dutch herring fishery so great as to employ 8000 vessels, and 200,000 sailors. Dutch India stock sold at 450 per cent. and the English at 300.

Establishment of Pennsylvania under Sir Wm. Penn. In 1729, this settlement was greatly increased, by the northern land-holders of Ireland, raising their rents, which forced many thousands from their native country.

1681. The Votes of the house of Commons began to be printed.

Bomb-ketches invented by the French.

Tinning of iron first brought into England from Bohemia.

Dr. Oliver Plunket, titular Primate of Ireland, was executed at Tyburn for high treason.

1682. The Pepper trade preserved to England, by the India Company, who expended 250,000l. on fortifying Bencoolen, in the island of Sumatra.

Ormond Market in Dublin opened, and the year following the Tholsel built at the city expence.

1683. France at the highest period of commerce, her revenue 215,566,633 livres; but in 1733 it fell to 140,278,473, which made a difference of 75,288,160, between the years 1683 and 1733.

A penny post began in London, by an upholsterer.

India stock sold from 360 to 500 per cent.

Celestial and terrestrial globes much improved by Wm. Saunders, a fishmonger.

The engine for scale-boards invented by one Bourafs.

Bandores or viols first made in England by one Ross, the best of which to this day are called after him.

Algernon Sidney executed, December 7.

1684. Poor rates amounted to 665,000l.

Amount of the sales made by the India company, 1,800,000l. Stock then sold for 300 per cent.

King James proclaimed in Dublin.

The castle of Dublin again suffered by a consuming fire.

The Royal-Hospital at Kilmainham near Dublin, built at the expence of the army, was ready for the reception of pensioners; the first stone was laid the 29th of April, 1680, and the building computed to amount to 23,559l. 16s. 11d. halfp.

Ormond and Arran bridges built on the Liffey in Dublin.

1685. The prohibition against the French imports taken off by king James II. though France greatly distressed the trade of England.

Value of goods imported from France for three years.

Linens,	—	—	—	700,000
Lutestrings and Alamodes,	—	—	—	212,500
Other silk fabrics,	—	—	—	500,000
Paper,	—	—	—	50,000

Total	—	—	—	£ 1,462,500
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1685. Seventy thousand refugees came from France, on the revocation of the *Edict of Nantz*, (by which edict the Protestants there, enjoyed the public and free exercise of their religion,) and settled in Great Britain and Ireland, bringing with them the blessing of industry, and an extensive knowledge in many manufactures, yet unknown there; of those 2000 are supposed to have come to Ireland. The whole number, who for conscience sake, quitted their native country, are said to have been 800,000, they distributed themselves in Holland and Brandenburg, where they erected the fabrics of cloth, serges, stuffs, druggets, crapes, caps, stockings, hats, and all sorts of dying, and among them were goldsmiths, jewellers, watch-makers, and carvers. Many settled in Spital-fields, London, where they erected the manufacture of silk, and others helped to people the suburbs of Soho and St. Giles's; by them was introduced the art of making chrystal, which was entirely lost to France; these strangers amply rewarded the hospitable countries that received them; and lived to see (in security) the *grand Monarch*, as then styled, greatly humiliated.

Tobacco

Tobacco and sugar from our plantations, were first taxed by name.

The post-office revenue granted in fee-simple to the King, amounting to 65,000*l.* a year.

1686. First treaty of peace and neutrality for America, between France and England.

The earl of Tyrconnel sworn lord deputy of Ireland, who not being able to prevail on the magistracy of the city of Dublin to admit Papists to their freedom, had a *quo warranto* brought against the city charter, who had judges to perfect his design.

The earl of Castlemain sent ambassador to Rome from England, who was so contemptibly treated by the Pope, that he would not be admitted to an audience; so little did his Holiness approve of king James's conduct.

Proportion of people in eight great cities in Europe, viz.

London,	—	696,000
Paris,	—	488,000
Amsterdam,	—	187,000
Venice,	—	134,000
Rome,	—	125,000
Dublin,	—	69,000
Rouen,	—	66,000
Bristol,	—	48,000

1687. The Protestant Dissenters, to avoid persecution, go in great numbers to America.

A great inundation in the river Liffey, so that most of the lower part of the city of Dublin was laid under water, when part of Essex-bridge was carried away.

Father Edward Petre, a Jesuit, admitted and sworn of the privy-council, November 11.

The archbishop of Canterbury, bishops of St. Asaph, Ely, Chichester, Bath and Wells, Peterborough, and Bristol, present a petition the 18th of May to be excused from distributing and reading the king's declaration for the liberty of conscience. The 8th of June following they were sent to the Tower, tried the 29th and acquitted.

1688. General rental of England, for land, houses, and mines before we became considerable in trade, viz. about the year 1600, did not exceed, per ann. 6,000,000*l.* Which general rental we take

now, 1688,	—	—	14,000,000
Moreover in 1600, the said six millions, at 12 years purchase (the common price of lands at that period) was worth			
but	—	—	72,000,000
			But

But the lands, &c. of England, at the rental of fourteen millions, and worth 18 years purchase, in the year 1688, was — — — 252,000,000

An amazing alteration in less than a century.

1688. The memorable revolution in England, which Voltaire calls the æra of English Liberty.

The nation, represented by its parliament, now fixed the so long contested bounds between the prerogative of the crown, and the rights of the people.

They prescribed the terms of reigning to the Prince of Orange, and chose him for their sovereign, in conjunction, with his consort Mary, daughter to the abdicated King.

First Law for a bounty on the exportation of corn.

War declared against France.

James duke of Ormond died, July 21.

King James's abdication established by parliament.

The Prince of Orange made his first declaration, October 10.

The earl of Tyrconnel filled the churches with soldiers, and made them store-houses for the arms belonging to the Protestants.

King James landed at Kinfale the 12th of March, and arrived in Dublin the 24th, when next day he called a parliament, which sat the 20th of July, and passed an act to repeal the act of settlement, and by an act of attainder, attainted near 300 Protestants.

In this year was erected in Dublin the memorable mint of king James II. when the value of two pence of base metal passed for twenty shillings: Archbishop King computes that the amount of 965,375*l.* of this base money was coined before the battle of the Boyne (which was on the 1st of July) and with this the Irish soldiers were paid; it is computed the kingdom suffered to the amount of 60,000*l.* a month by this stratagem; and to enforce its currency the governor of Dublin with his provost-marshal, threatened to hang such as refused it.

1689. Hearth-money abolished in England by K. William.

The first bounty on corn exported.

The first Asiento Treaty, for supplying the Spanish West Indies with Negroes.

French imports prohibited.

The memorable statute, of the declaration of rights, or England's new Magna Charta, by William and Mary.

Episcopacy abolished in Scotland by act of parliament, July 22.

The

The French protestants invited into England.

Lord Chancellor Jefferies died in the Tower, April 18.

Lieutenant General Hamilton routs the Protestants in the North at Dromore, many of whom fly to Derry, Mar. 14.

The church Tythes appointed by act of parliament to be paid to the popish clergy.

An act made in England for the restoration of the Irish protestant clergy to their benefices, which from the unhappy state of the kingdom they were obliged to leave.

Five thousand a year of the post-office revenue settled on duke Schomberg, on his departure to command the army in Ireland: being in consideration of his services, and to make good what he lost in France and Germany for adhering to King William.

Forces depart for the relief of Ireland the 12th of August, and land at Carrickfergus on the evening of the 13th, under the command of the Duke of Schomberg.

The trenches opened before Carrickfergus the 22d of August, and capitulated the 26th.

Five thousand French troops land at Kinsale the 12th of March, under the command of Count Lauzun and the Marquiss de Levy to assist King James.

The English army in Ireland much reduced by sickness and want, owing to the villainy of their purveyor, one John Shales.

On the failure of brass, King James had his image impressed on pewter, which was also to have been made current, but in this he was defeated by King William's victory at the Boyne.

The College of Dublin turned into a Barrack for Popish Soldiers, when the Provost and Fellows were dispossessed. Dr. Moore, a Popish Priest, nominated Provost, who, contrary to expectation, conducted himself with prudence, and paid great attention to the preservation of the books and manuscripts.

The protestants of Ireland disarmed, by order of Tyrconnel.

The Rev. Mr. Walker appointed Governor of Derry, preparative to the memorable siege there.

1690. Fine paper first began to be made in England.

The mine and adventurers company erected.

An Earthquake felt in Dublin.

King William landed at Carrickfergus, June 14,

Battle at the Boyne, July 1.

Duke Schomberg killed by a wound in his neck, owing
to

to the imprudence of the regiment of Combou, who too hastily fired upon some of King James's guards, that attacked the Duke as he was crossing the Boyne, to head the French refugees, whom he perceived in disorder.

Soon after him fell the memorable Dr. Walker, who so bravely defended Derry.

1691. Count Schomberg, second son of the late Duke, created Duke of Leinster.

Monfieur St. Ruth comes to Ireland to command the Irish army.

On the 12th of July was fought the decisive battle of Aughrim, when, after many severe conflicts and doubtful states, victory was declared in favour of King William: The Irish loss amounted to 7,000 men, with their general St. Ruth, who fell by a cannon shot as he came down the hill of Killcomaden. The loss of the English did not amount to more than 600 killed and 960 wounded.

Civil and military articles were agreed on for Limerick and all the other forts then in possession of the Irish, Oct. 3. between their Excellencies Sir Charles Porter and Thomas Coningsby, Esq; Lords Justices of Ireland, and the Baron Ginkle, Commander in Chief of the English army, on the one part; and the Right Honourable Patrick Earl of Lucan, Piercy Viscount Galmoy, Col. Nicholas Purcel, Col. Nicholas Cusack, Sir Toby Butler, Col. Garret Dillon, Col. John Brown, and the Lieutenant Generals D'Usson and de Teflé, Commanders in Chief of the Irish army, on the other part; with the ratification thereof under the great seal of England, by their Majesties King William and Queen Mary.

1692. Victory of La Hogue.

Began a great Frost in Ireland the 19th of January, which held until the middle of February.

A proclamation was published declaring the war of Ireland to be at an end, March 23.

1693. The Greenland trade company erected:

Commissioners appointed to enquire into the forfeited lands, goods, &c. in Ireland.

1694. The Tower of Limerick (being old) fell suddenly, where were 218 barrels of powder, which by the striking of the stones took fire and blew up; it greatly shattered the Town, killing about 100 persons, and wounded many others, February 1.

The coin in Ireland raised by proclamation; a Louis d'Or 21 s. a ducat 6 s. 8 d.

Dr. John Tillotson, archbishop of Canterbury, died at Lambeth, aged 65, Nov. 22.

The New Orphan company erected, and 8000 l. a year imposed on London for its support, in order to make good the deposit, that had been formerly put into their care.

London hackney coaches and chairs taxed.

Bank of England erected.

1695. The four courts for the Administration of justice were new built in Dublin at the expence of the crown, which courts, for some time before, sat in the Tholsel.

The Massacre of Glenco by the earl of Argyle's regiment, May 9.

The parliament vote a supply of 1,63,225 l. Aug. 27.

The rolls, records, papers, &c. relative to the acts of attainder, and other acts of K. James's parliament, were cancelled and publicly burnt, Oct. 2.

The Hospital at Greenwich began to be erected.

Bank of Scotland erected.

Rise of the million bank.

1696. Exchequer bills introduced.

Sixteen millions supposed to be the current cash of Great Britain.

Lords Commissioners of Trade erected.

Began to build the Edyston Light-house.

A law to prevent the exportation of English wool, and the importation of Irish.

Hemp, flax, linen, thread and yarn from Ireland, admitted duty free: [This law first gave rise to the now happy state of the linen manufacture in Ireland] and a bounty granted on the exportation of British sail-cloth.

French protestants settle in Ireland, and improve the linen manufacture.

The William packet-boat with two mails and eighty passengers, was lost near Sutton, the entrance of the bay of Dublin, Nov. 10.

1697. The parish of St. Michan's divided into three parishes, viz. St. Michan's, St. Paul's, and St. Mary's; two churches were erected in the two latter by a tax on the parishes.

A magnificent collar of S. S. valued at 1000 l. given to the city of Dublin by the King, their former collar being lost in the troubles of the foregoing reign.

The magazine of Athlone in Ireland, being fired by lightning, blew up the castle and many houses, Oct. 27.

Upon

Upon the address of the commons, 3000 l. were granted to the college of Dublin, for enlarging their buildings.

Rise of the Stock-brokers.

The peace of Ryswic.

1698. The palace of Whitehall burnt, except the Banqueting house, Jan. 4.

The Czar (Peter) of Muscovy, came to London, Jan. 11.

The African trade laid open.

The woollen manufacture of Ireland discouraged, and the linen countenanced, at the request of both houses of parliament: in return for what the Irish parliament had done the year before, relative to the woollen manufacture.

The French first settle at the mouth of the Mississippi.

1699. The parliament of Ireland dissolved, May 30.

The parliament of England vested the forfeited estates in thirteen trustees, to be sold for the public use, notwithstanding several grants had been before made.

Wheat at 3 l. 4 s. the quarter.

Wool and woollen manufacture of Ireland and America, to be exported to England only.

The nett proceeds of the post-office revenue,	—	—	} £.	90,504	10	6
Exports from England,	—	—				

Imports,	—	—	—	6,788,166	00	00
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Val. of their woollen manufact. exported,	2,932,292	00	00
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Increase of our exports since 1662,	4,765,334	00	00
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Value of the wool and its manufacture,	8,000,000	00	00
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1700. India silks prohibited to be worn in England.

Flanders lace admitted, provided the same indulgence be given to the woollen manufactory and corn of Great-Britain, on exportation.

End of the SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

1701. The Hanover succession to the crown of England, settled by act of parliament.

Prussia ducal, erected into a kingdom.

John Dryden, Esq, died aged 70, May 1.

Death of King William, when the national debt amounted to above fourteen millions, March 8.

An equestrian statue of King William erected in College-green, Dublin, to perpetuate the deliverance of that kingdom by his valour, July 1.

1702. The two East India companies united.

1703. Bounties granted by England for raising naval stores in America, owing to the ill usage of the Northern crowns.

The

The commons of Ireland expel Mr. Afsil the House, for his book, asserting, "the Possibility of Translation to the other World, without Death."

1704. Mr. Rochfort, Attorney-General, stabbed with a knife, as he was coming out of St. Andrew's Church, Dublin, by Mr. Crefwick, May 21.

Gibraltar taken by Admiral Rooke, July 24.

The castle-market in Dublin, erected on the old site of St. Andrew's Church, was opened by the Lord-Mayor, with proclamation and beat of drum, July 26.

The work-house of the city of Dublin began to be built, her Grace the dutchess of Ormond laying the first stone.

Battle of Blenheim.

The linen manufacture of Ireland, admitted to be exported to America.

Enacted, that promissory notes, should be secured in like manner, as bills of exchange.

The barracks in Dublin began to be built.

1706. The act of bankruptcy commences in England.

Union with Scotland signed at London, July 22.

Bank of England began to circulate Exchequer Bills.

The battle of Ramillies, May 12.

1707. Specie in Scotland said to amount to 900,000 l.

The Custom-house of Dublin, began to be built.

The castle of Belfast burnt.

1708. The island of Minorca taken by the English.

The famous Mr. John Locke died, Oct. 28.

1709. Sacheverel preached his seditious sermon at St. Paul's, Nov. 5. (The subject non-resistance.)

Robert Walpole, Esq; appointed Treasurer of the navy, Jan. 13.

A general naturalization of foreign protestants enacted in England.

Five hundred Palatine families sent into Ireland, where 24,000 l. were granted for their support and establishment.

The Bank of England double their capital, and for that purpose dispose 2,201,171 l. 10 s. at the rate of 115 per cent. which was compleated between the hours of nine and one.

1710. The new law passed for adjusting the assize of bread, that of Henry III d. being out of use.

Value of the money coined in England, between 1569 and 1710, of gold and silver, 21,419,307 l.

Bank of Holland said to contain in Specie 36,000,000 l. sterling.

1711. The general post-office erected, and a post-master appointed for the three kingdoms; the revenue of the office in 1710, 111,461 l. 17s. 10d.

Increase of the London exports for four years, viz. 1707 to 1710, both inclusive, amounted to 2,389,872 l.

Hackney coaches and chairs in London put under the regulation of five commissioners, when 800 coaches were licensed at 5 s. weekly, and 200 chairs at 10s. a year.

Rise of the South Sea scheme began, which was no other than an imaginary traffic to the South Seas, for which stock was sold to raise a fund: this scheme is imputed to the earl of Oxford, who framed it by that in 1697, for doubling the capital of the Bank of England. In the year 1717, their first annual ship sailed for the South Seas, and in the year 1718, they suffered a loss of 200,000 l. by the Spaniards seizing their ship, which was never effectually made good. At the latter end of the year 1719, stock sold for 114 per cent. and while the bill depended for enabling them to increase their fund, stock rose to 126 l. per cent. and on taking up some of the government's securities, it rose to 319 per cent. and in the memorable year 1720, June 2, stock was sold for 890 per cent. but before night it fell to 640, and in the evening it got up to 770, and on the 6th to 820; and for a third subscription they were offered 1000 per cent. At this time there were eighty different schemes in agitation, which obliged the S. Sea directors, to apply to parliament for their suppression, by a *Scire Facias*. Lands at this time were at 35 and 40 years purchase. On the 20th of September, their stock came down to 175 l. and their bonds to 25 l. per cent. discount, and towards the close of the year, the people began to perceive the fatality of the scheme, when many (but lately very opulent and of the highest credit) died of a broken heart, having lost their whole substance. We shall close this article, with a distinct account of the several payments, in their original value, and what they sold for in 'Change-Alley, in 1720.

	Original Money paid.	Highest Price sold 1720.
South Sea stock, first subscription,	100	1,000
Ditto, 1st Money-Subscription, } at 300 per cent, }	120	750
Ditto, 2d — at 400 — —	80	600
Ditto, 3d — at 1,000 — —	100	440
Ditto, 4th — at 1,000 — —	200	245

1712. Robert Walpole, Esq; sent to the Tower.

1713. Peace of Utrecht signed, March 30,

Hudson's

Hudson's Bay ceded to England.

Nova Scotia ambiguously given up.

National debt 50 millions.

Value of black silk for hoods and scarves made in England amounted to 300,000*l.* a year, which before was purchased from the French.

The brave Catalans, abandoned by the British ministry, contrary to their solemn engagements, after a long time struggling for liberty against the united powers of France and Spain, were obliged to submit.

1714. A parliamentary reward offered for discovering the longitude. This was effected by John Harrison of London, after 40 years essay, who in 1765 received a reward of 20,000*l.* after making a full and satisfactory discovery of his Time-piece and principles, to the board of longitude; first proving them by several voyages.

Legal interest in England reduced from 6 to 5 per cent.

Rise of the Ostend company in England.

Death of Queen Anne, Aug. 1.

1715. Death of Lewis the XIVth.

Balance of trade in favour of England in 1713 and 1714, 2,103,148*l.*

Iron first made in Virginia.

Robert Walpole, Esq; first made Chancellor of the Exchequer, Oct. 10.

The Pretender lands at Peterhead near Aberdeen, December 25.

1716. The current cash of France supposed to be seventeen millions, notwithstanding the bank is obliged to stop payment, in order to fill the king's treasury to the ruin of the people, as were others of the funds, having their capitals retrenched by edicts, so that the public securities were reduced to 50*l.* 80 and 90 per cent. they thus paid off the national debt of France.

1717. The British linen exported duty free.

The guinea reduced from 1*l.* 1*s.* 6*d.* to 1*l.* 1*s.*

Government securities lowered from 6 to 5 per cent. by a new complicated sinking fund; this saving of one per cent. and one penny per cent. per day on the future exchequer bills, was the beginning of the famous sinking fund, which amounted to 322,434*l.* 7*s.* 7*d.* h. a year.

The Mississippi company erected in France under the direction of Mr. John Law, of Scotland, being no other than a copy of the Earl of Oxford's scheme of the South Sea company 1711, and was as effectual in ruining the people: their stock in July following sold at 1000*l.* per cent. which

was

was mostly disposed of by the King, and Mr. Law for the company; and in order to extend the scheme, a further subscription was opened in August, and each share subscribed into a hundred parts, so that the very lowest of the people were taken in, when each share rose to 500 l. but upon a rumour of Mr. Law's indisposition, they fell to 445 l. and on his recovery, they rose to 610 l. and in some little time after, to 1000 l. and lands sold at 50 years purchase; the stock at length rose to 1300 l. and in November 1200 new coaches were set up, with the greatest show of finery; but in a few months more, not any thing was to be seen, but the utmost desolation and misery.

The right of British subjects to cut logwood, again asserted.

The Dutch trade in the Baltic with 1200 ships.

The bucaniers of America suppressed.

Colonel Henry Lutterel shot in a hackney chair as he was returning home from Lucas's coffee-house in Dublin.

A proclamation, offering a reward of 10,000 l. published by the Lords Justices of Ireland, for apprehending the late duke of Ormond.

1719. Lombe's famous silk-throwing machine, set up at Derby, and the secret purchased for 14,000 l.

Joseph Addison, Esq; died, June 17.

1720. The national debt of France, at the death of Lewis the XIVth. 1,977 millions of livres, and their annual interest amounted to near 90 millions per annum.

Dr. Steevens's Hospital began to be built, and was incorporated in 1730.

A charity sermon preached in all the Churches of Dublin for relief of the poor, by order of the Government, when the collections amounted to 1227 l. 14 s. 2 d. halfpenny.

1721. The Quakers allowed to make their affirmation instead of taking an oath, Feb. 12.

Printed calicoes prohibited to be worn, also buttons and button-holes made of cloth.

A public bank attempted by parliament, to be erected in Ireland.

The silk manufacture of England increased to the amount of 700,000 l. per annum, since the revolution; see 1766.

1722. Gross amount of the post-office					
revenue,	—	—		201,804	1 1
Franks deduct.	—	33,397	12 3		
Expen. of conduct.		70,396	1 5	103,793	13 8

Nett proceeds,	—	—	—	£. 98,010.	7 5
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A bounty

A bounty granted on the exportation of filken manufactures.

1723. A patent for coining halfpence for Ireland, granted to William Wood, July 24. — Against this projector Dr. Jonathan Swift appeared, in the character of the Draper; who, in a masterly manner, exposed the designs of the coiner, and raised such a spirit, as effectually banished him the kingdom.

A severe edict in France against Protestants, May 14.

The pragmatic sanction, for uniting the dominions of Austria under one head.

1726. One hundred hackney chairs added to the number, in London, amounting to 300.

The first market of Corn at the new market-house in Thomas-street, Dublin, April 13.

1727. Sir Isaac Newton died, March 28.

1728. Dr. Berkley, (since Bishop of Cloyne,) attempts to erect an university at Bermuda.

Number of shipping that arrived at London, between Christmas 1727 and 1728, viz. British, 1829; Foreign, 213; Coasters, 6,827; in all, 8,869.

The charitable infirmary on the Inns Quay was opened for the admission of patients, and the house rebuilt in 1741.

The Linen Hall was opened for the reception of linen, for the more convenient disposing of it in Dublin.

1729. The House for the meeting of the Irish parliament began to be erected in College Green, and completed in 1731, at the expence of 40,000 l.

Carolina purchased by the crown for 800,000 l.

St. Mark's church on Lazer's-Hill Dublin, began to be built.

The parliament sat at the Blue Coat hospital.

The first burial with linen scarves in Ireland, at colonel Grove's funeral, Oct. 15.

1730. The Levant company export ten thousand pieces of broad cloth.

Credit of the English manufacture of silk so great in Italy, that at Naples, in order to recommend their goods, they said they were English. — The reverse in 1766.

1731. Law pleadings ordered to be in English.

Hat manufacture discouraged in America.

The Parliament of Ireland met at the New House, Oct. 5.

An Account taken of the Souls in the Kingdom of Ireland in 1731, stood thus, viz.

Provinces	Roman Catholics	Protestants	Totals
Conaught	221,780	21,604	243,384
Leinster	447,916	203,087	651,003
Munster	482,044	115,130	597,174
Ulster	158,028	360,632	518,660
	1,309,768	700,453	2,010,221

1733. The Irish Incorporated Society erected.	
Protestant families in Dublin,	8,823
Papists, ditto,	4,119
Ten to each house,	129,420
Protestant families in Cork,	2,569
Papists, ditto,	5,398

Seven to a house, 55,769

The Excise Scheme on wine and tobacco brought into the house, March 14.

1734. Forging or counterfeiting acceptances, or bills of Exchange, made felony.

Mercer's hospital in Stephen's street, Dublin, opened for the reception of patients.

1735. The Derwentwater estate, forfeited to the crown in 1715, appointed for the support of Greenwich hospital.

Exported from Cork,	107,161 Barrels of Beef.	
	7,379 ditto of Pork.	
	12,461 Casks	} Butter.
	82,727 Ferkins	

1736. First act of parliament, for granting money for building the bridge at Westminster.

The obelisk at the Boyne erected.

1737. Number of souls in Paris, 536,712.

The city of Venice made a free port.

1738. The value of the gold coin, reduced in Ireland, Sept. 10.

1739. The Duty on wool and bay-yarn imported from Ireland, taken off.

Number of people employed in the woollen manufacture of Great Britain, 1,500,000 at 6d. each for 313, the working days in a year, amounts to 11,737,500l.

The steeple of Trinity College, Dublin, began to be built.
Henry

Henry Lord Baron Santry tried by his Peers, and found guilty, for stabbing a man of which he died, April 27.

1740. The Swedes erect a board of manufactures.

Lord Anson goes out on his expedition against the Spaniards, and sails round the world in near four years.

Value of 100l. sterling, in the paper currency of the British colonies.

New England, viz. Massachuset's Bay, Connecticut,	}	£. 525
Rhode Island, and New Hampshire,		
New York,	—	160
The Jerseys,	—	160
Pennsylvania,	—	170
Maryland,	—	200
N. Carolina,	—	1400
S. Carolina,	—	800

An intense frost in Ireland, began about Christmas, and continued eight weeks.

Three hundred houses were consumed by fire in Carolina, the damages computed at 200,000l. Nov. 18.

1741. Value of Irish Linen exported, 600,000l. which only amounted to 6000, at the accession of King William.

The custom house of Limerick burnt, Oct. 2.

A most shocking murder was committed in the county of Galway by one John Bodkin, who entered his father's house, and, with the assistance of some ruffians, killed him, his wife and son, and a young gentleman who happened to be in the house that night, with the men and maid servants, amounting in number to eleven persons; this was owing to some unfavourable impressions, he entertained against his brother, who was by a second marriage; he, with his associates, were executed Oct. 8.

The *Superbe* man of war brought into Kinsale, a Caracca ship, with 200,000l. in specie on board, Dec. 25.

1742. An additional duty was laid on foreign cambricks, out of which a bounty was to be paid on the exportation of the British and Irish linens, being one penny per yard on linens, from 6d. to 12d. and one halfpenny for linen under 6d. and in 1744, a further bounty was granted of one halfpenny a yard on linen, the value of 5d. to 12d. and 1d. halfp. on linen from 12d. to 1s. 6d.

Sir Robert Walpole created earl of Orford, Feb. 9. and on the 13th resigned his great appointments.

Thomas Kouli-Khan obtained a signal victory over the

Great Mogul, who lost in effects and otherwise, one hundred and twenty-five millions, viz.	
Jewels to the value of	£ 31,250,000
The jewels of the throne,	11,250,000
Money coined,	31,250,000
Gold and silver,	6,250,000
Fine clothes, &c.	2,500,000
Household furniture,	3,750,000
Cannon,	1,250,000
Carried away by officers and foldiers,	12,500,000
Fields laid waste, goods carried away,	25,000,000

£ 125,000,000

The first ship laden with Irish coals came to Dublin from Newry, March 28.

The town of Omagh in Ireland, consumed by fire, except the church and four houses, May 4.

The Right Reverend Dr. Hugh Boulter, Primate of all Ireland, died, September the 27th.

Mr. Waite the late cashier of the Bank of England, taken in the city of Dublin, and committed to Newgate, for taking of whom a reward of 500l. was offered, Dec. 20.

1743. The Rev. Dr. Claudius Gilbert, died: many years Vice-provost of Trinity College, Dublin, to whom he left his valuable collection of Books.

On November the 25th, was determined the great cause, which came on at the court of Exchequer on Friday the 11th, wherein James Annesly, Esq. was plaintiff, the Earl of Anglesey, defendant. The trial having lasted twelve entire days, the jury, after staying a few minutes in the jury-room, gave a verdict for the plaintiff.

Eleven millions of money were raised on the people in France, for six years, ending with the year 1743.

Land forces in France, May 1743, horse and dragoons,	37,164
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Foot,	182,600
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Total of Regulars,	219,764
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Militia,	75,000
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Invalids,	9,296
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Total of Land Forces,	304,060
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Seamen of all denominations, bombardiers and Mariners,	42,440
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Total	346,500
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1744.

Chronological Series of Events.

59

1744. Annual expence of France,	14,850,000
The clear revenue,	6,000,000

Annual debt,	£ 8,850,000
Annual expence of England,	7,300,000

Lord Netterville tried by his Peers, for murder, and acquitted, Feb. 3.

The militia of the city of Dublin, marched from their several parades to Stephen's Green, and from thence through the said city, May 25.

Alexander Pope, Esq; died, June 19.

Admiral Anson returns from his voyage round the world (began in 1740) bringing with him great treasure.

A dreadful hurricane in Jamaica, Oct. 20.

1745. Foreign cambricks and French lawns prohibited.

Value per annum of the French fishery at Cape Breton and near it, 981,692l. 10s. and employs 414 ships, with 24,520 seamen.

Sir Robert Walpole, Earl of Orford, died, aged 71, March 11.

A great famine in Armagh, Omagh, county of Tyrone, and city of Derry, occasioned by a mortality of cattle; for their relief a subscription was made, amounting to 1600l. the beginning of April.

The Pretender lands in Scotland, July 27.

Cape Breton taken by the English, June 16.

The battle of Preston Pans, between Sir John Cope and the rebels, when the former was defeated, Sept. 21.

Rev. Dr. Jonathan Swift, Dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin, died October 25. He left the chief part of his fortune, amounting to 12,000l. to build and endow an hospital for lunatics, and idiots, to be erected contiguous to that founded by Dr. Steevens, near James's-street.

1746. The British Linen company erected.

Circumference of Dublin 7 and 3 quarters Irish miles.

Henry Bond, of the county of Armagh, produced, before the Dublin Society, a veal and kid skin, fairly and well tanned by the bark of the Scotch fir alone.

The groom porters suppressed by the earl of Chesterfield, when chief governor in Ireland, March 8.

Five hundred pounds per annum granted to the Dublin Society, by his Majesty, on the recommendation of Lord Chesterfield, April 4.

The battle of Culloden, April 16.

The Reverend Dr. John Hoadley, Primate of all Ireland, died July 19.

The Earl of Kilmarnock, Lord Balmerino, and the Earl of Cromarty, brought to their trial, May 21, when Kilmarnock and Cromarty pleaded guilty, and Balmerino not guilty: after examining some witnesses he was voted guilty, they were brought to the bar of the house the 30th to receive their sentence.

The two Lords, Kilmarnock and Balmerino, beheaded, August 18.

Value of Linen made in Scotland, 222,870*l.* 13*s.*

The battle of Liege, between the French and allies, in which the latter were defeated, Oct. 11. N. S.

The city of Lima destroyed by an earthquake, Oct. 17.

Mr. Ratchiffe, titular Earl of Derwentwater, tried on his attainder in 1715, found guilty, Nov. 2. and beheaded, Dec. 28.

1747. The clanship of Scotland entirely subverted, and the liberty of Englishmen given them.

Indigo made by the people of South Carolina.

A fine marble pillar, thirty feet high, with a Phoenix on the top, was erected in the centre of the ring, in the Phoenix Park, near Dublin, March 29.

Lord Lovat beheaded, April 9.

Battle of Val gained by the French, June 21.

Bergen-op-Zoom besieged by the French, July 7, and taken by count Lowendahl, Sept. 16.

The town of Mullingar, in the county of Westmeath, almost consumed by fire, July 29.

The French produce of sugar, exceeds the English by C. 679,100.

Value of the duty on Tobacco consumed in England, 183,541*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*

Value of Tobacco exported by Great Britain at 6*d.* per pound, 1,000,000.

Bottles were first blown in the glass-house on the North-wall, Dublin, April 7, and the 17th of June following, the house was consumed, being mostly timber.

Cessation of arms proclaimed between England and France in Dublin, May 18.

A fire in the city of Moscow, which consumed five thousand houses, June 1.

A ring of bells set up in the steeple of Werburgh's church, Dublin, the bequest of Mr. Southwell, Aug. 6.

Great swarms of Locusts in England in August, many of which reached Ireland.

1748.

1748. The peace of Aix la Chapelle, signed there by the British, French, and Dutch Ministers.—The duke of Bedford was then one of the secretaries of state; and England obliged to give hostages for her good faith, Oct. 11.

1749. The general peace proclaimed in Dublin, Feb. 17. The Spire on St. Patrick's, Dublin, began to be erected, June 12.

The bubble of the bottle conjurer, to be exhibited to the English nobility, &c. at the New Theatre in the Hay-Market, London, January 16. This bite deserves to be recorded, as it shews, that a foolish credulity and ridiculous curiosity seemed to have banished common sense from the people of all ranks in London. It is said this trespass on the credulity of the Londoners, was schemed by the late duke of Cumberland.

The pier and harbour of Ramsgate improved by parliament.

Tonnage of the British navy in the following periods.

1715	—	—	167796
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1727	—	—	170862
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1749	—	—	228215
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1750. The Dublin Society was incorporated by his Majesty's Letters Patent, and consists, at present, of a president, seven vice-presidents, a treasurer, two secretaries, an assistant secretary, and a register, April 2. This institution was found so effectual for the design of improving the kingdom, that its plan has been since adopted in England, Scotland, &c.

The Spanish gold prohibited in Ireland, Oct. 10.

The corporation of the free British fishery instituted.

The Asiento trade given up to the Spaniards, on a compensation of 100,000*l*.

1751. The New Style introduced into England and Ireland.

The Lying-in-Hospital in Great Britain-street was began to be built, which was opened for patients in 1757, under the inspection and guidance of Dr. Bartholomew Mosse, a lasting monument of his ability and genius.

1752. The Royal African company of England dissolved, and their trade, &c. vested in the new company.

The late forfeited estates in Scotland, to be applied for civilizing and improving, the Highlands and isles, of that kingdom.

1753. The Hospital for Incurables on Lazor's Hill, Dublin, was opened.

Essex-bridge, Dublin, began to be rebuilt after the model of Westminster-bridge, in London.

All

All the ports of Ireland opened, for the exportation of its wool and yarn, to Great Britain.

Three thousand pounds for nine years, granted by parliament, for the improvement of the Linen manufactory in Scotland.

The British Museum founded.

The Jews naturalized by parliament, but soon repealed.

Houses erected in Dublin and its suburbs since 1711, are 4000, computing 8 persons to each house, the increase of inhabitants are 32,000.

1754. The society for the encouragement of arts, manufactures, and commerce, &c. erected in London, on the plan of that instituted in Ireland in 1750.

1755. A great earthquake at Lisbon, Nov. 1.

1756. Great Britain declares war against France the 18th of May.

Massacre of the English at Calcutta, in the East Indies, by being thrust into a narrow dungeon, by order of Cassim Cawn, June 26.

Minorca taken by the French, June 29.

1757. Admiral Byng was shot on board the Monarque at Spithead, March 14. The following remarkable inscription, is cut on his Tomb at South-hill, Bedfordshire:

To the perpetual disgrace of public justice,
The Hon. John Byng fell a martyr to political
persecution, March 14th, 1757; when bravery
and loyalty were insufficient securities for the
life and honour of a naval officer.

1758. The exportation of salt provisions from Ireland, permitted for six months, on paying the salt duty.

Milford Haven directed by parliament to be fortified.

The islands of Cape Breton (July 26) and Goree (Dec. 29) taken from the French.

1759. Live cattle and tallow, to be imported duty free from Ireland, for five years.

The bank of England issues notes of ten and fifteen pounds.

Guadaloupe taken, May 1.

South Carolina produces 10,000 lb. of raw silk.

The battle of Minden, when the English infantry, particularly the regiments commanded by Waldegrave and Kingsley, behaved with the most extraordinary bravery against the French cavalry, and forced them to retreat with great loss, Aug. 1.

Quebec and Canada, surrender. The engagement that led to this great conquest, was attended with a most remarkable catastrophe, in the loss of the commanders on both sides;

fides; England in the death of Wolfe, lost a most promising soldier, who, at the age of 35 perfected that character, and fulfilled the expectation of his country, dying in the arms of victory. France in the death of M. de Montcalm, had no less a loss in a general, than the fatality of the day, Sept. 18.

Amount of the parliamentary grant for carrying on the war, 12,749,860

Value of the linen manufactured in Scotland, 451,390l. 17s. 3d.

Value of the linen exported from Ireland, 939,562l. 1s. 4d.

1760. Ditto, 891,697l. 1s. 8d.

Amount of parliamentary supplies, 15,503,564l. 15s. 9d.

Carrickfergus taken by the French, under the command of M. Thurot, Feb. 28. which he soon quitted, after plundering the town; but before he reached the Isle of Man, was overtaken by Capt. Elliot, who engaged him with three frigates mounting 31 guns: The French ships were equal in number, but much superior, mounting 102 guns, and proportionably manned. The French commander was killed, and his Squadron taken.—His name was O'Farrel, and was well acquainted with the Irish coast, where he had frequently been with counterband goods. His grandfather, who followed the fortune of James II. was a native of that kingdom; but his mother being of a family of some dignity in France, he was called after her.

Black-friars bridge over the Thames began to be built; the first stone was laid by Sir Thomas Chitty, lord-mayor of London, under which a plate was laid, with the following inscription;

That there might remain to posterity
A monument of this city's affection to the man,

Who by the strength of his genius,
the steadiness of his mind,

and a certain kind of happy contagion
of his probity and spirit

(Under the divine favour,
and fortunate auspices of GEORGE the second)

recovered, augmented, and secured
the British empire

in Asia, Africa, and America;

And restored the ancient reputation
and influence of his country,

among the nations of Europe;

The city of London have unanimously voted this bridge to
be inscribed with the name of

WILLIAM PITT.

Montreal and the remainder of Canada conquered, Sept. 8.
Increase of the Linen Manufacture since last year,

71,762l. 13s. 1d.

The civil list revenue as settled by parliament, 800,000l.
per annum.

1761. Pondicherry in the East Indies, taken from the
French, Jan. 15.

Belle-Isle in Europe, also Dominica in the West-Indies.

Number of ships that arrived at Amsterdam this year, 1508.

The cattle killed in this year, for the inhabitants of London, viz.

Sheep and lambs,	_____	_____	711,121
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Bulls, oxen, and cows,	_____	_____	78,254
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Calves,	_____	_____	104,760
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Hogs for pork,	_____	_____	146,932
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Hogs for bacon,	_____	_____	41,000
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Sucking-pigs,	_____	_____	52,600
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1762. Martinico taken from the French, (Feb. 4.) the
Havanna, (Aug. 13,) and Manilla, with the Philippine
Islands, from the Spaniards, (Oct. 6.)

St. John's in Newfoundland taken by the French, June 24,
but retaken, Sept. 18.

NATIONAL DEBT.

Principal,	_____	_____	£. 110,613,836	8	0
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Annual Interest,	_____	_____	3,792,594	3	4
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Total of the Debt,	_____	_____	£. 114,406,430	11	4
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Irish salt provisions admitted duty free to Christmas 1762,
for the use of the navy only.

Land carriage of fish, encouraged by Parliament.

The Sanctissimo Trinidad, a Spanish galleon, taken by
captain Parker, Nov. 1. She arrived in England, June 9,
1764.

New Orleans that had been ceded by the French to the
Spaniards, taken possession of by the latter.

Amount of the pensions on the Irish
civil establishment, ending August } £. 72,002 0 0

26, 1763, }

The military establishment,	_____	_____	2,400	0	0
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The French Pensioners,	_____	_____	920	17	0
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75,322 17 0

The Definitive treaty of Peace between England and
France, signed at Paris the 10th of Feb. proclaimed in
London the 22d of March; and in Dublin, March 30.

The

The Definitive Treaty of Peace between the Empress Queen and the King of Prussia, signed Feb. 15.

John Wilkes, Esq; member of parliament for Aylesbury, arrested on a general warrant signed by Lord Halifax, one of the Secretaries of state, and committed to the Tower under a warrant signed by him and the other Secretary, Lord Egremont, April 30.

Saturday the 3d of May he was brought to the bar of the court of Common Pleas, by virtue of the *Habeas Corpus*, when he was discharged on his parliamentary privilege. In 1765 the Right Honourable the lord Camden declared general warrants (except in cases of high treason) to be illegal, oppressive, and unwarrantable.

The union bridge over the Tweed was begun, and the first stone laid by the Earl of Hume, May 18.

The New Excise on Cyder took place, when the Right Honourable George Grenville was first lord of the Treasury, July 5.

King Augustus III. Elector of Saxony died, Oct. 5.

The Political Paper, called the North Briton, No. 45, was publicly burnt, by order of both Houses of Parliament, Dec. 3.

1764. Amount of the National Debt, Jan. 5.

Principal,	—	—	£. 129,586,719	10	0
Interest paid,	—	—	—	4,688,177	11 0
			134,274,897	1	0

The charter of the Bank of England was renewed for 21 years from 1765, for which the government was paid 100,000l. and a loan of one million for two years, at 3 per cent. Jan. 25.

The Archduke Joseph of Austria crowned King of the Romans at Frankfort, April 3.

New regulations in regard to franking of letters took place, May 1.

The King's messengers were fined in a thousand pounds, by a London Jury, for illegally seizing the person of Mr. Beardmore and his papers, when concerned in writing the political paper intitled the Monitor.

Great inundation in Berkshire, when the damages amounted to 20,000l. June 23.

Prince Frederick, his Majesty's second son, elected bishop of Osnabrug in Germany, by a conge d'elire from his father, as Elector of Hanover.

The

The island of St. John granted to Lord Egmont, to be divided into fifty baronies, and held by military tenures, his Lordship being Lord Paramount.

The Danish Islands, St. Thomas and St. John in America, declared free ports for American products, paying 5 per cent duty. European goods to be imported in Danish bottoms only.

To so great perfection were the mechanical Arts brought in this age, that one Arnold of London, presented to his Majesty a repeating watch, set in a ring, the diameter of which was something less than a silver two-pence, and contained 120 different parts, weighing no more than 5 dwts. 7 grs. and 3-4th: as was also another, in which were inlaid the Portraits of the two young princes, done in enamel from the life, by Mr. Sykes.

Prince Ivan, or John, of Russia assassinated in the fortress of Schlussenburg, where he was confined; his mother was grand-daughter to Czar John, and he had been declared emperor in 1750, when but three years old, July 16.

Stanislaus Poniatowski, elected King of Poland, Sept. 7.

The society of Jesuits dissolved in France, by an edict from the King, which was registered by the parliament, and their revenue confiscated: this year was fatal to them in Portugal, from whence they were also banished.

Dr. George Stone, Primate of all Ireland, died Dec. 19.

1765. The clergy of London form themselves into a society for the care of their widows and orphans, Jan. 8. For this most laudable purpose, an Association has been long since entered into, in the capital of Ireland.

Amount of the supplies granted for the year 7,763,091l.

Value of linen cloth made in Scotland for public sale, 579,227l. 11s.

The society for the encouragement of arts, manufactures, and commerce, in Great Britain, incorporated by charter, Jan. 29.

The pope's Bull was suppressed by the parliament in France, when it was declared, that no Bull or brief for the future should be received, unless attended with the King's letters patent, Feb.

An act for laying an imposition of a stamp duty, in the British colonies, received the royal assent, May 10, and in the administration of the Right Hon. George Grenville.

At an ordination at St. James's, a black was admitted into sacred orders.

The government of Portugal, suppress a Bull of the Pope's

Pope's favouring the Jesuits, some time since expelled the kingdom.

The government of the isle of Man, placed under the jurisdiction of the crown of Great Britain, compensation being made to the Duke and Duchess of Athol, whose ancestors held it, by feudal tenure, of King Henry IV. and King James I. which obliged them to make homage, and present two falcons; first on making homage, and again on the King's coronation, May 10.

Francis Stephen I. Emperor of Germany, died Aug. 18.
Joseph II. ascended the Imperial throne.

Mr. John Harrison of London, effected the discovery of the longitude, and received the reward; see 1714.

The people of Mingrelia and Georgia relieved themselves from the Turkish Yoke: they profess the Greek religion, and held in great abhorrence, the prostitution they were every year obliged to make of their daughters, for the use of the Grand Seignior's Seraglio.

His Royal Highness William Duke of Cumberland, uncle to his Majesty, died Oct. 31.

National debt amounted to	—	130,213,900
Annual interest, Dec. 25.	—	4,698,656
		134,912,556

1766. The army commissions regulated in their prices, by a board of general officers.

The Chevallier de St. George died at Rome, Jan. 2.

Frederic V. King of Denmark and Norway died, January 14.

Several Ports in the islands of Jamaica and Dominica, declared free under certain restrictions.

The Prince of Orange installed Stadtholder, March 8.

A bill for the limitation of parliament, passed the House of Commons in Ireland.

A bill for the repeal of the American Stamp-act, was presented to the House of Lords by Mr. Secretary Conway, where it passed.

Commodore Byron, who had been on discoveries in his Majesty's Ship, the Dolphin, arrived in the Downs from a voyage round the world, May 9.

The importation of French wrought silks and velvets prohibited for five years, in order to encourage these manufactures at home, much upon the decline, May 14.

A great riot at Madrid, raised in resentment to some orders from the court, for laying aside the old national drefs,

dress, viz. the *Beaver* and *Cloak*. The King for some time was obliged to quit his capital, and his minister (an Italian) the kingdom.

Count Lally, the commander in chief of the French forces the last war in the East Indies, beheaded at Paris, May 17.

The amount of seizures from Christmas }
to May, — — — } £. 90,000 0 0

The expence of cruisers for one year, 85,000 0 0

Supplies granted for the year, — 8,117,914 3 5

The total revenue of excise in Great }
Britain amounted to — — — } 3,968,000 0 0

India Stock rose from 183 to 190, June 7.

An Observatory began to be erected in the port of Liverpool, Sept. 5.

To such an extremity was England reduced by a failure in the crops, and an excess of exportation, that the latter was prevented by proclamation, Sept. 26.

A Princess Royal of England born, Sept. 19.

Her Royal Highness the Princess Matilda, was espoused by proxy to his Majesty of Denmark, Christian VII, Oct. 1.

An hospital for the reception of the children of Soldiers, began to be built in his Majesty's park the Phoenix, Dublin, Oct. 31.

James, Marquis of Kildare, created Duke of Leinster, Nov. 14.—In 1691 this title was conferred on Count Schomberg, second son of Duke Schomberg, who was killed near the Boyne, after he had passed the ford, to head the French protestants, then in K. William's army.

A bill received the Royal assent, to indemnify such persons as had acted for the service of the public, in advising the proclamation of the 26th of September, and those who had enforced an obedience to it, December.

Wheat and Oats permitted to be imported, duty free, for a limited time.

13 JY 63

F I N I S.